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**RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LANGUAGE,
SCHOOLING AND ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE
MACANESE IN MACAU: IMPLICATIONS FOR
EDUCATION POLICY**

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B.A., M.A.**

**A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of Doctor of Education**

School of Education

University of Durham

APRIL, 2004

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Abstract

The shift of political control from Portuguese to Chinese has changed the importance of languages in Macau. Chinese has become a more important language in the enclave. This shift has created a dilemma to the Macanese group whose first language is Portuguese. This study aims to see whether the present language education policy has taken into consideration this group of people by looking at the construction of the Macanese identity and the role of language and schooling in identity maintenance. The study, the first of its kind in Macau, looks into the ethnic identity of the Macanese people and its implications for the education policies. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were adopted. Interviews, the main source of understanding of the issue, were conducted to collect the group's opinions and questionnaires were administered to different members of the same group to gather data in order to complement and supplement the interview data. The interview data were analysed by a grounded theory approach and the questionnaire was analysed statistically. The findings show that there are different sets of criteria to define people in the group. The genealogical feature is an indispensable criterion but the feeling of 'Portugueseness' is seen as more important. Language and schooling are very important markers of the group as they are important channels to acquire a sense of 'Portugueseness'. It is important for the government to realize this so that appropriate strategies and policy can be adopted. It is hoped that Macanese culture can be maintained so that its uniqueness can be preserved in this enclave.

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CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the education policies of Macau with particular reference to the relationship between education and the maintenance of ethnic identity. The topic is of particular interest in Macau because of the political handover from Portugal to China in 1999. This change of administration has inevitably affected the people in Macau, particularly the Macanese group. The handover has brought about the change in power and status as well as the identity of the group, which still has not settled into a clear state yet. The Macanese identity will therefore be the interest and focus of this study. Because of the length limitation of this study, it is not possible to study all the aspects of Macanese identity. Language and education have always been regarded as important in group identity maintenance. As Edwards (1985: 228) puts it,

it is not putting things too strongly to say that education has often been perceived as the central pillar in group-identity maintenance, providing an essential support for linguistic nationalism and ethnic revival.

It would be interesting to put this topic into discussion to see the relationship of education, identity and language in this context.

As Macau is a very small city in which very few studies have been done and the issue on language, education and identity has not been explored, a brief discussion of the context of this study is necessary before engaging in further discussion. This context should provide some orientation for the discussion of the purpose, the significance and the overview of the study that follow.



1.2 Context of the Study

As a result of its history which has brought about a unique mixture of Chinese and Portuguese cultures, the identity of Macanese (the group which is of mixed descent) is a long-standing question and is also an attraction of research interest. The handover on 20th December 1999 not only affected this group of people politically but also complicated their already complicated identity. The identity issue should not be overlooked; in fact, it is one of the important aspects that the government has to consider when formulating education policy.

1.2.1 Social Situation

Demographically, there are two main groups (the Chinese group and the non-Chinese group) in Macau if we classify people by race. However, this concept is not going to be used to demarcate people in this study as this classification mainly draws distinctions from physical appearance and is an over-simplification of the issue. Ethnic identity, which refers to distinctions based on language, religion, self-perception and cultural markers, is the main focus of this study. Chinese constitutes 97% of the population, including immigrants from Guangdong who came to Macau during the 1980s, people who returned from the Southeast Asian countries in the 1960s, people from the North of China who came before the declaration of People's Republic of China (Pina-Cabral, 1994: 238-39) and local Chinese who are Macau born and have been ruled by the Portuguese for over 400 years. A second group are the Macanese and Portuguese who make up only about up to 3% of the population. Within the small size of the Macanese population, there are descendants of Chinese and Portuguese, Macanese and Macanese, Macanese and Europeans, Macanese and Chinese, Portuguese and Indian, Portuguese and the Philipinos and Macanese and Malaysian. The term 'Macanese' can refer to the people of Macau or the small group of people who are of mixed descent. In this study, the latter definition is adopted. Apart from these two groups, there are foreigners such as Philipinos, British, American etc.

The handover led to change of power and status of the people in Macau. This could be seen in the change of senior government personnel after the handover. Before the handover, the Portuguese occupied all the principal government positions. After the handover, all the key positions have had to be Chinese. As a result, the Chinese are now able to participate in formulating government policies, which is a right that they did not have previously. Besides, they are now the group that make the decision on important affairs and control the government budget. The Macanese used to have an important position in government affairs alongside the Portuguese. The Joint Declaration states that only people who hold Chinese citizenship can be in key government positions. The Macanese who want to remain in a privileged position might need to give up their Portuguese citizenship, which might be an important marker for their identity.

One of the changes which accompanies power change is status change. The Chinese, who used to be a minority group in terms of power, have become a majority group. The terms 'majority' and 'minority' have a variety of definitions. One of these is to define the terms in a numerical way. As there are 97% Chinese and 2-3% Macanese and Portuguese, the Chinese have always been the majority if such a definition is adopted. This is, of course, not a comprehensive way to explain majority and minority relations. Yetman (1991: 10) argues:

the term minority does not refer to the numerical size of a group. Occasionally a so-called minority group will represent a numerical majority of the total population.

Therefore, although the Chinese constitute the majority of the population, they can still be labelled as minority. Yetman (1991: 11) further states that

minority status is its inferior social position, in which its interests are not effectively represented in the political, economic, and social institutions of the society.

This was the case of the Chinese group before the handover. Before the handover, the Chinese group had always been in a subordinate position in status, power and politics. They could never have key positions in the government. They had no participation in making decision in government policy. They needed to use Portuguese, a language that only very few people know in Macau, to fill in forms or to send applications to the government. As a result, people had to pay in order to get these items translated. All the government announcements were originally in Portuguese and only some had Chinese translation. Obviously, the Chinese were deprived of the right to have full participation in government affairs, and as a result, their interest was not fully represented. Therefore, it is reasonable to say the Chinese were a minority group in the past in spite of their majority population in this enclave. The Macanese used to be a privileged group because of their knowing Portuguese, and also because they could serve as a 'middleman' between the Portuguese and Chinese. Most of them worked for the government and occupied high middle-rank positions in the government. Although some of them still hold important positions after the handover, they are not as privileged as before.

1.2.2 Language Situation

Chinese and Portuguese are now the official languages in Macau. The two languages have different roles in Macau. Chinese (Chinese refers to the written language and Cantonese refers to the spoken language in this study) has become the first official language. Cantonese, one of the varieties of Chinese, is the spoken language for daily communication of the people in Macau. It is a language for people to communicate with each other in the streets, in shops, in markets etc. It is a spoken language of the majority of people. Both the Chinese and the Macanese speak Cantonese. The Chinese use Cantonese to communicate with other Chinese and also the Macanese. It is also the language the young Macanese use to communicate among friends. The Macanese, who were born in Macau, acquired Cantonese from peers in schools, from neighbours and from the great

influence of the two Hong Kong Cantonese television channels. The Cantonese that they speak is not the type of language used in a formal situation. A lot of Portuguese words are found in the conversations of the older generations and some elderly Macanese still use Portuguese to communicate among themselves. Chinese (the written language) has always been a working language even before the handover. The term 'working' refers to the language which is actually used as a means of communication by the majority of people. It is also the language which is most frequently used in business, mass media and even personal letters.

Portuguese used to be the language of the government as all the government's law or announcements were first written in Portuguese. Since the handover, Portuguese is still used in the government, but its role has shifted from supreme to symbolic. The word 'symbolic' here is used in Edwards' (1994: 126) sense that a group language, having lost its function as a regular communicative instrument, still remains as a valued symbolic feature of the group. Although the interpretations of the law in Macau are referred to the Portuguese version when the Chinese version is not clear, what it serves is not a 'regular communicative' function among the people. In fact, both the Chinese and the Macanese group do not regard Portuguese as an important language any more, even though it is still used in some government domains. Before the handover, Portuguese was only the language of the ruling class and the language of high status. The majority of people did not speak Portuguese, but communication within the government would be in Portuguese. This is an example of diglossia without bilingualism as mentioned by Fishman (1980). The Portuguese spoke the high status language Portuguese while the Chinese spoke low status Cantonese. Since the handover, the verbal communications within the government are in Chinese and the written documents are mostly Chinese and sometimes Chinese and Portuguese. As knowing Chinese is a requirement to enter government now, the inclusion of Portuguese in government documents again suggests that it is not for a communicative but largely a symbolic purpose.

There are around 2% of the population who speak Putonghua in their daily communication. Putonghua is a national spoken language in China. Its importance has increased since the handover. Many Chinese and Macanese have been learning to speak Putonghua since the approaching of the handover. This language was not popular in the past although it is the standard spoken language of the Chinese in China. The Chinese in Macau were not eager to learn this language because this language did not have any economic or ethnic functions.

English is not the mother tongue of any main group in Macau. Neither is it one of the official languages. However, it has attracted far more attention than Putonghua and Portuguese in Macau. This may be attributed to the fact that English is an international language and it is the language of power and economic betterment. This is also the language for higher education. The government-owned university in Macau adopts English as the medium of instruction.

1.2.3 Education

The Portuguese government did not show much interest in the development of education. Schools were mostly private and they had their own system in which they were allowed to develop in their own way. There was a change of this policy with the signing of the Joint Declaration in 1987. In the 1991 Education Law, the ten-year free compulsory education was introduced (Education Law no 11/91/M article 6.1 and 6.3).

Basic education comprehends the preparatory year of primary education, primary education and junior secondary education (6.1).

Free education will be ensured in government schools and subsidized private schools (6.3).

There are two types of schools in Macau – official and unofficial. A network of schools was established after 1991 Education Law, such that the private schools were turned into network schools and non-network schools. Students in the

network schools receive 10 years of free education. According to the Educational Survey (03-04: 2) there are all together 94 schools in Macau in which 79 are private and 15 are government. Of the 79 private schools, 64 schools are in the network. Most of them adopt books published in Hong Kong.

Government schools are different from network schools. Government schools provide free education from kindergarten to form six while network schools are private schools and only have 10 years free education from preparatory year to form three. Among the 94 schools, there are three types of language medium schools – Portuguese, Chinese and English. Only government schools are obliged to follow a common syllabus enacted by the Department of Education and Youth. The private schools are not obliged to follow it. They have their autonomy to design their own syllabus but most of them follow the guidelines. Schools which are in the network should follow guidelines of the syllabus and control the number of students in each class.

There are two types of government schools – Chinese medium and Portuguese medium. For Chinese medium government schools, students learn both Chinese and Portuguese from Primary 1 and start learning English in primary 5. That is to say, starting from primary 5, students in Chinese-Portuguese government schools learn three languages at the same time. For government Portuguese medium schools, all the subjects are taught in Portuguese except Chinese. No English is offered in primary schools. In the private Portuguese school, students learn Portuguese as their main language and English is offered 3 to 4 hours a week. After the handover, the number of Portuguese medium schools has gone down. At the moment, there are two Portuguese sections in two government Chinese-Portuguese medium schools and one private Portuguese school which is not in the network. For private Chinese and English medium schools, both English and Chinese are offered from primary 1 and Putonghua is offered from primary 3.

1.2.4 The Macanese Group

The Macanese are the group of people who have mixed descent and have at least one Portuguese ancestor. Although the Macanese in Macau are usually a mixture of Portuguese and Chinese ethnicity, descendants of the Portuguese people from the former Portuguese colonies such as Goa (India) and Malacca (Malaysia) and other Asian areas are also included. Besides, some pure Portuguese residents of Macau and some who are 100 percent Chinese may also considered themselves as Macanese (Pina-Cabral, 1994: 230). Pina-Cabral, a Portuguese anthropologist, uses three criteria to identify the Macanese (1994: 233):

1. One of these lines is language and it concerns any kind of association of an individual or his family with Portuguese language.
2. Another line is religion and it includes any kind of individual or family identification with Catholics.
3. Finally, the third line is miscegenation between Asian and European blood.
4. Each one of these lines may constitute the basis for the identification of a Macanese person, but the three are not necessary for someone to identify himself/herself, or another, as Macanese.

One may find it difficult to define a Macanese as there seems to be great variations in the criteria. For Macanese who have the above criteria (numbers 1, 2, 3), and have achieved some sort of educational, political or financial distinction, they are a nucleus of families. They are the so-called traditional families (Pina-Cabral, 2002: 40).

Regarding the language issues of the Macanese, it is as interesting as the identity criteria. According to Zepp (1991: 116),

The Macanese are an ethnic group without a true mother tongue because they will learn to speak a street Chinese without ever achieving total mastery over its reading or writing, they may learn to read and write Portuguese in school without acquiring a good command of the spoken language.

This comment is not entirely true as the Macanese did have their mother tongue in the past but it is rarely spoken now. The Macanese had their own language

‘Patois’, ‘Patio’ or ‘Patuá’ which was originally a sort of pidgin Portuguese used in trade communication when the Portuguese traders went to do their business in Africa, India, Ceylon, Malacca etc. It then developed in Macau and became a creole as we can see music, drama and literature of Patois. Now, only very few elderly Macanese speak this language in Macau. Trying to preserve the Sino-Portuguese patois, Lawyer Miguel Senna Fernandes established a drama troupe and performs patois drama in the Macau Arts Festival once a year (Chinoy, 1999: 1).

Although language is not always an important feature to maintain group identity and it may also not be one in the Macanese case, it is, or was, however no doubt an indispensable tool for the Macanese to be a ‘middleman’ between the Portuguese and the Chinese. The handover has lessened the importance of the Portuguese language in Macau in the minds of the Macanese, despite the fact it is still used in a few important domains.

According to Yee (1997: 116),

the Sino-Portuguese Declaration and the subsequent localization process has emphasized the recruitment and promotion of local Chinese to higher-ranking positions in the civil service, the Macanese domination in the civil service has declined.

Macanese have always been in between the Portuguese and the Chinese. They are not seen by the Portuguese as Portuguese or as Chinese by the Chinese. They were neither but were still able to have a clear advantage over the Chinese before the handover. After the signing of the Joint Declaration, their feeling about being discriminated by both Chinese and Portuguese has grown stronger. They had a feeling of being neglected and uncertain about their future. They are ‘neither meat nor fish’ (Watts, 1997: 11). This feeling of uncertainty together with the changing of power and status will have an impact on the Macanese identity.

1.2.5 The Impact of the Handover and the Need for Research

The political change has produced the decline in the importance of Portuguese in the minds of the people, although as stated in the Basic Law, Portuguese still has its place for 50 years. This change may pose difficulties to the Macanese whose mother language is Portuguese. It seems that a unified policy, which takes into account the identity issue, is needed in order to suit the needs of different ethnic groups. As Almeida and Bray (1994: 3544) conclude,

by 2000, Macau will again be part of the People's Republic of China as a Special Administrative Region. The major challenge will be to preserve its identity while operating within the larger framework. Considerable tension may be anticipated between competing social, political, and economic forces. On a more specific note, it seems inevitable that Putonghua will occupy a stronger place in the school curriculum. The challenge then is to find space in timetables which are already crowded, and to secure sufficient qualified teachers in the subject. Other issues will concern the place of the Portuguese and English languages, the nature of links with Portugal, and ways to strengthen the quality of schooling.

Given the change induced by the handover, the complexity of the language situation and the need of a unified policy to suit the different ethnic groups, it seems that a study to look into these issues is relevant and useful.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

The Macanese were able to distinguish themselves from the Chinese who have always been the largest group of the population even though the two groups have been living together in a small enclave for more than 400 years. With the change of administration, however, a new situation arises and a number of important questions are posed. Will the shift in the importance of languages pose a threat to the Macanese identity? Will the markers of their boundaries change with a change of the importance of languages in Macau? What strategies will they use to deal with the change? As mentioned earlier (see 1.1; Edwards 1985: 228), education

has always been perceived as the central pillar in group-identity maintenance and the aim of this study is to examine the relationship between education and identity with the arising of the new situation. The purpose of the research, therefore, is to attempt to explore the Macanese identity and the role that language and schooling play in Macanese identity maintenance. In addition to this, it is also important to compare the findings from this unique group to the theoretical and empirical literature on ethnic identity of other groups. Thus, the study intends to examine the relationship between the present education policy in Macau and the identity of the Macanese, and the similarities and differences between the Macanese group and other groups in ethnic identity maintenance. In order to examine these issues, the following research questions are proposed:

1. How do the Macanese maintain their group identity?
2. What role, if any, does language play in Macanese identity maintenance?
3. What role, if any, does schooling play in Macanese identity maintenance ?

1.4 Significance of the Research

Although the study focuses on Macau, the issue of the formation of identity through education is relevant in many areas throughout the world, and it is hoped that the experience and outcomes derived from this study may provide material for consideration of similar issues in other regions of the world.

This is also the first systematic study to examine what relationship there is between education policy and the identity of the Macanese. The Macau government had been adopting a *laissez-faire* education policy before the handover. Before the handover, it seemed to work out well that people were free to choose the school that they wanted their children to attend. The Macanese

could enter Portuguese schools in which they could acquire Portuguese and their 'Portugueseness' and this 'Portugueseness' was an essential part of their identity and also a prospect of their future. The situation has changed with the political handover. Therefore, it is important to see whether the present education policy takes into consideration the maintenance of Macanese identity and what kind of policy is suitable. Thus, this study is an original contribution to the education policy of Macau.

Furthermore, one of the purposes of this research is to investigate the maintenance of Macanese identity in a period after the political transition in Macau, which is the first of this kind ever done in Macau. The Macanese group is a group which is biracial in nature and have a unique historical background and cultural heritage. The issue of ethnic identity has been widely studied and different ethnic groups have been chosen as subjects, but little has been done on the Macanese. As for the education policies concerning Macanese identity, the literature is also scarce. Therefore, this study not only provides an original investigation of the Macanese group in Macau, it also makes a contribution to the existing literature on biracial ethnic identity and education policy.

1.5 Organisation of the Research

This thesis will be in five chapters as follows:

Chapter one describes the context, explains the purpose, outlines the research questions, justifies its significance, and demonstrates the organisation of the research. Chapter two is a review of the relevant literature to clarify the issues which may be useful in the understanding and discussion of ethnic identity. Similar studies on ethnic identity and its relationship with language and schooling are explored, and theories on the subject are reviewed. Chapter three explains the rationale of the methodology chosen, summarises the methodology adopted in

similar studies, discusses the ethical issues involved, and describes how the data were collected, arranged and analysed. Chapter four presents the analysis of data. The analysis is presented under three headings, the construction of Macanese identity, the role of language in identity maintenance and the role of schooling in identity maintenance. A conclusion is drawn at the end of this chapter. Chapter five discusses the implications of the findings on the education policy in Macau and presents the plausible conclusions, recommendations for improvements to the situation and further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ETHNIC IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND SCHOOLING

In the preceding chapter we have briefly outlined the context of the study and the ways in which languages and the education system may relate to the identity of the people in Macau. In this chapter we shall have a discussion of what has been done in the field before engaging in any in-depth analysis of the methodology and the data. The review will not consist of literature about the Macanese as there is very little literature about the Macanese on this issue and what there is has been included in chapter one. As we shall see, the review focuses on giving an overview of the concepts and issues of ethnic identity, language and schooling which form the basis of this study and also to which my study can contribute. It is done because ethnic identity is a difficult concept. There are several reasons for that.

Firstly, there are inconsistencies in concepts across studies. For example, racial identity and ethnic identity are used interchangeably in some studies, but they have different definitions in other studies; in some studies cultural identity and national identity may mean the same as ethnic identity. Secondly, ethnic identity itself is complicated as it has a lot of different identities embedded in it and the identities overlap each other. Thirdly, people have multiple identities and these identities change according to situations. Fourthly, it is a topic which has been researched across different disciplines, and each discipline has looked into this issue in different perspectives, and as a result, numerous dimensions have been found to be related to the development, change and maintenance of ethnic identity. Therefore, this review tries to clarify the issues and lay down the dimensions through which we will examine the Macanese identity.

Ethnic identity is formed by boundaries which are constructed with both objective and subjective characteristics. As studying all the characteristics which construct ethnic identity in a research project of this length is not possible, so language and schooling which, as we shall see, are commonly accepted to be important, are chosen for examination.

This chapter is therefore a review to clarify the key concepts in the literature on ethnic identity, and the role of language and schooling in ethnic identity, to which this study can contribute. It is divided into four parts. The first part is a discussion of different dimensions of ethnic identity. The second part is to look into the role of language in ethnic identity. The third part is the role of education in ethnic identity; in the conclusion I shall identify the issues for study in this research which seem from the literature review to be significant.

2.1 Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is a term which is difficult to define and researchers have tried to avoid defining the term explicitly, as two review articles show. Isajiw (1980) examined 65 studies of ethnic identity and found that only 13 of them defined the term explicitly. Phinney (1990) reviewed 70 articles and found that ethnicity can be described as attitudes and feeling towards one's group in some studies, but it is defined as self-identification in other studies. It shows that it is not an easy task to make an explicit definition of ethnic identity and those who did had variations in their concept. As Ross puts it (1979: 3),

ethnicity has proven to be a very difficult concept to define with much precision. Indeed those who have approached the task have not been able to achieve a consensus. Most usages are both vague and ambiguous in their application to empirical research. What some scholars consider to be examples of ethnicity, other would consider to be cases of such variables as regionalism, religious sectarianism, class conflict and even sheer opportunism.

Before going into the difficult task of defining ethnic identity for our purposes in this study, it is necessary to clarify some terms which have been used as equivalent to or have been regarded as closely related to ethnic identity. They are racial identity, national identity, class identity and social identity.

2.1.1 Different Identities and Their Relationship

2.1.1.1 Racial Identity

There are inconsistent uses of the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity'. Some studies use the terms interchangeably while other studies differentiate the terms. In general, race refers to the distinctions drawn from physical appearance and ethnicity refers to the distinctions in culture, language and religions. Van den Berghe (1967) states three principal uses of the concept. The first one is a common use that race refers to a group who share the same cultural characteristics such as language, religion, food and etc. This use is equivalent to the use in social science as 'ethnic group'. The second use is a biological one, which refers to classification between Mongoloid and Negroid. The third use refers to the distinctions drawn from physical appearance. The terms racial identity and ethnic identity can be used as equivalent if the first use of the term 'race' is adopted. In this study, we will adopt the first sense so 'racial identity' and 'ethnic identity' will be used as equivalent to each other.

2.1.1.2 National Identity

For the term national identity, there are two different views. One view is that it is one kind of ethnic identity. 'Nation' is only one sub-category of 'ethnic identity'. This view sees ethnic group as a larger entity than a nation. People in an ethnic group may have different national identities. Another view considers that national identity is larger than ethnic identity. According to Suryadinata (1997: 4),

national identity is closely linked to the modern concept of nation the word 'nation' often means a political community and it refers to a political and cultural entity which is larger than an ethnic group.

This view is similar to that of Edwards (1985), *viz.* that ethnic groups are seen as preliminary stages of nationalities. Nationalism is an expanded version of ethnicity. The main difference between ethnicity and nationalism is not one of principle but of type. As he puts it (*ibid.*: 129),

nationalism may be thought of as an extension of ethnicity in that it adds to the belief in shared characteristics a desire for political autonomy, the feeling that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.

In other words, 'politicisation changes ethnicity to nationalism' (*ibid.*: 129). In this sense, ethnic identity is actually one type of national identity and they are interconnected with each other.

2.1.1.3 Class Identity

Social class is 'a group of people within a society who possess the same socioeconomic status' (Britannica no.10: 919). It is not an easy concept but it is an essential part of one's identity and therefore it is necessary to have it mentioned here. It is regarded as one kind of social identity although there is controversy over its importance. Marshall (1988) argues that class is a salient social identity while others (Saunders, 1989; Emmision and Western, 1990) argue that class identity is not a crucial one and other social identities are more important. Class identity is the social class to which an individual belongs. Two important indicators of this group membership could be the socio-economic status and social network of an individual. The term class identity has not been used as equivalent to ethnicity. It is, however, one of the composites of ethnic identity, as class may sometimes be one of the factors which motivates change of one's ethnic identity. For example, in order to have upward mobility, minority groups or individuals within a group may adopt

certain strategies to accommodate themselves in the host country which lead to a change in their construct of ethnic identity.

2.1.1.4 Social Identity

According to Tajfel (1974: 69),

social identity is that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the emotional significance attached to that membership.

Hogg (1992: 98) defines social identity as the

specific nature of the group and its social history of relations with other groups.

Seeing the numerous aspects the term involves and the disparity in concept across studies, Jackson and Smith (1999: 120) introduce a framework for the concept of social identity. They set four dimensions for the term.

Perception of the intergroup context (the extent to which an out-group is salient and perceived to have competitive rather than co-operative relations with the in-group), in-group attraction (positive affect toward the in-group), interdependency beliefs (the future well-being of the self and the in-group are bound together), and depersonalization (thinking of the self more in terms of a group member and less in terms of a unique individual) (Jackson and Smith, 1999: 120).

Each or more than one of these dimensions can be used to conceptualize the various identities such as ethnic identity, national identity and cultural identity. Therefore, it may be reasonable to say that social identity is an abstract theoretical concept, which includes different identities.

2.1.1.5 Summary

The terms used above overlap with, and are interrelated with, each other. Some of the terms are used as synonyms of ethnic identity (such as racial identity) and some are closely related to ethnic identity (national identity and

class identity). Each identity has its group membership and boundaries are used to include and exclude members. Given the above mentioned, it seems that all these identities are embedded in one's social identity. Therefore, social identity is actually an abstract theoretical concept of group membership and ethnic identity is one of the realizations of the concept. Having discussed the different terms which have received different interpretations in studies, the following is a review of the literature on ethnic identity.

2.1.2 Different Dimensions of Ethnic Identity

A review of literature (Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1985; Phinney, 1996; Yen and Hwang, 2000) shows that ethnic identity is multidimensional. In Phinney's words (1996: 921),

for the study of ethnicity to progress, it is important to recognize that the psychological implications of ethnicity can be best understood in terms of clusters of dimensions.

Therefore, it is necessary to have a discussion of the different dimensions of ethnic identity which are also useful in approaching the identity issue of this study.

2.1.2.1 Ethnicity as a Group Identity

Several literatures (Fishman, 1964; Barth, 1969; Edwards, 1994) show that ethnic identity is a group identity. Fishman (1964) stresses the point that ethnicity pertains to 'peopleness' which coincides with the definition of ethnic identity that Barth formulated. Barth (1969: 15) defines an ethnic unit

as those individuals who say they belong to ethnic group A rather than ethnic group B, and are willing to be treated and allow their behavior to be interpreted and judged as As and not Bs.

Ethnic identity is also understood as

allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.) or by more subjective contributions to a sense of ‘groupness’, or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past (Edwards, 1994: 128).

For Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985: 724)

ethnic identity develops from experiences unique to different groups, with the values and traditions of the ethnic culture being integrated into one’s definition of self.

The above interpretations of ethnic identity show that ethnic identity is a group identity and it is formed by criteria which are unique to different groups.

Social identity theory argues that identity is derived from group membership and individuals may change their membership or change their interpretation of the characteristics of their group so as to get a positive image of their identity. Tajfel (1981) states that if membership of an ethnic minority is a negative one, group members will adopt certain strategies to enhance their self-image. According to social identity theory, knowledge of one’s membership in certain social categories is important. This social categorization is necessary for group members to compare themselves with other relevant groups. It is an important part of one’s self-concept and individuals try to gain a positive sense of identity in order to compare favourably with other groups. Such a process enables individuals to acquire positive self-esteem. When comparison becomes unfavourable, group members will change in order to gain or retain a positive identity. Change involves the use of strategies to change group boundaries or even change group membership. However, a change of group membership is not always possible. Individuals who have a negative identity may turn to adopt some strategies, one of which is the attenuation of in-

group's speech markers so as to accentuate the linguistic characteristics of the dominant group (Giles and Johnson, 1987). This is one of the strategies to gain upward mobility.

Based on Tajfel's Social Identity Theory a number of studies have been conducted into social identity. Kelly (1988) looked into the relationships between in-group identification and intergroup differentiation and between intergroup differentiation and self-esteem. Karasawa (1991) examined relations among different aspects of group identification and their effects on in-group evaluations. Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) constructed a scale to assess individual differences in collective identity. Niemann *et al.* (1999) conducted research into the social construction of ethnic identity of Mexican Americans to find out what it meant to them to be members of their ethnic groups. The results of the interviews showed that there are patterns of ethnic identity which had not been emphasized in previous literature. Bornman (1999) conducted research to see the relationship between self-image and ethnic identification among three South African groups and found that 'positive self-image was correlated with stronger ethnic identification among Afrikaans-speaking Whites' (Bornman, 1999: 411). Phinney (1992) also conducted a number of studies based on Social Identity Theory, in which ethnic identity of different groups was examined through different measures. These studies, based on Social Identity Theory, see ethnic identity as a kind of group behavior in which there are differences within and between groups.

The literature and studies are useful references to our study of Macanese ethnic identity here. First, Social Identity Theory could be useful in interpreting the behaviour of the Macanese in group identity maintenance, especially at a time of administration change which affects their social location and status. Second, it is interesting to know how they form their group identity, e.g. whether it is similar to, or different from the other groups, and whether there are variations within the group.

2.1.2.2 Ethnic Identity as an In-out Group Comparison

As Phinney (1990: 509) puts it, ethnic identity 'is not an issue except in terms of a contrast group'. Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (1978) also states that individuals define themselves in terms of their social group membership and in order to seek a positive identity which is achieved by comparing one's own group with other groups. For Phinney (1996), an ethnic identity is formed through interaction with a reference group in which people share a common history, physical features, and culture. Keefe (1992) also sees ethnic identity as the perception of differences between groups, the perception of a shared heritage as different from other groups and the perception of unfairness received by one's own ethnic group. For Tajfel and Turner (1979), one aspect of social identities is how one's own group compares to the other group. For Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985: 724),

ethnic identity must be viewed as a dynamic, multidimensional process arising out of the intergroup interactions.... For a clear and conscious sense of ethnic identity, an awareness of boundaries between one's own ethnic group and other outgroups is essential.

For Jackson and Smith (1999), the perception of intergroup context is an important aspect of ethnic identity. Brewer's (1991) Optimal Distinctiveness Theory suggests that identity is derived from two opposing forces – the need for inclusion and assimilation and the need for differentiation from others. In this sense, an individual's identity is acquired through the membership of a group and the differentiation between different groups. As a result, as Brewer (1999: 118) puts it,

the need for inclusion is met within the ingroup, and the need for differentiation by distinctions between ingroup and outgroups.

Giles and Johnson's (1987: 217) Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory claims that

individuals compare their social group to out-groups in order to make their own favourably distinct and that positive distinctiveness enables individuals to achieve a positive social identity.

As we can see from the above literature, an individual needs a reference group to commit oneself to and in which boundaries are drawn to differentiate oneself from other groups. Since the Macanese in this study are of mixed descent, it is interesting to know which group they choose to commit themselves to and differentiate from, and how they form their group distinctiveness in order to compare favourably with other groups in Macau. It is especially important to the Macanese because the handover has changed the status of different ethnic groups, especially the Macanese group in Macau society.

2.1.2.3 The Objective and Subjective Aspects of Ethnic Identity

One of the dimensions of ethnic identity is its objective and subjective characteristics. The literature (Barth, 1969; Edwards, 1994; Phinney, 1996) shows that there are objective and subjective characteristics to sustain a group boundary. It is these objective and subjective group boundary markers which help to maintain a sense of 'groupness'. Barth argues that we should not take into account the objective characteristics; rather, one should consider those features that the members in the group regard as important. As Barth (1969: 14) puts it,

the features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant.

Phinney (1996) mentions that there should be three components of ethnic identity: (a) the objective aspects such as attitudes, customs, values; (b) the subjective aspect which is the feelings that are attached to a group; and (c) the struggle to gain equality and acceptance in the larger society. Tan (1988: 140) also states that

an ethnic identity has three major components, namely, the label, the objective aspects (such as languages and customs) of identification, and the subjective experiences of that identification. The last

component includes the self-perception as well as the social and psychological meanings.

Both psychologists and sociologists regard objective and subjective components as a feature of constructing ethnic identity. Tajfel (1978c) and Isajiw (1990) claim that there are internal and external criteria for the boundaries. External criteria are those objective ones such as skin colour, or fluency in the ethnic language which may be imposed on individuals by a dominant group to define the minority. The internal criteria are the concepts that the members hold for their legitimate membership such as values, beliefs. For Ross (1979), there are also subjective and objective aspects of identity and it is not important whether people who feel they are in the same group have any historic-genetic basis; it is only the feeling that they can differentiate themselves from other groups that is important.

Kwan and Sadowsky (1997) conducted a study to measure the internal and external ethnic identity of Chinese American immigrants by using the Internal and External Ethnic Identity Measure. Although it is agreed upon by scholars that there are both objective and subjective characteristics, there are different opinions about the importance of objective characteristics in the study of group boundaries. For Barth (1969), emphasis should be put on the subjective characteristics, but for Cohen (1985) the cultural content (objective characteristics) is also as equally important as the subjective characteristics. As Jenkins (1996: 111) argues,

his (Cohen's) work complements Barth's, offering a more developed model of the relationship between identity boundaries and their 'contents' – the culture of the people inside the boundary – which still emphasizes flexibility and variability.

Gans (1979) claims that a new kind of ethnicity emerged in which members of a group resort to the use of ethnic symbols to maintain ethnic identity. In this way, ethnicity, as Gans (1979: 430) puts it,

may be turning into symbolic ethnicity, an ethnicity of last resort, which could, nevertheless, persist for generations.

The above literature shows that there are subject and objective aspects of ethnic identity; however, it suggests that it is the inner, internal and subjective criteria which are important in forming one's identity. Therefore, it is the focus of this study to examine the inner, internal or subjective criteria which form the boundary (as we shall discuss in the next section) of the Macanese group, although we will still look at some cultural content of the group. We will also examine whether Gans's 'symbolic ethnicity' is also applicable to the group as a result of the political change in Macau.

2.1.2.4 The Group Boundaries of Ethnic Identity

Group boundary is one of the focuses in the studies of ethnic identity. Each group uses boundaries to include and exclude members. According to Edwards (1985), one of the important aspects in the study of ethnic identity is to look into boundaries which set groups apart, and to discover the criteria adopted to include and exclude group membership.

Giles and Johnson (1987) state that a high level of perceived boundary hardness enables members to have clear norms and ethnic categorization, and as a result, the salience of group membership can increase. Those who belong to several groups have a more diffuse social identity than those who just belong to one or two groups. In this way,

ethnolinguistic attachment should be stronger for those who can identify with few other social categories. Moreover the favourableness of intergroup comparisons offered by nonethnolinguistic membership groups will affect ethnolinguistic dimensions of identity, as will their status and involvement level within each membership group (Giles and Johnson, 1987: 72).

Language, schooling, religion, cultural background, family characteristics, social activities, customs, marriage, music and geographic origin are generally recognized as hallmarks of ethnicity. Not all of them will be found in every

case. Language and schooling are frequently associated with ethnic identity (these will be discussed in the later sections). According to Khleif (1979: 159),

if boundaries define belonging, if identity itself is anchored in boundaries, then a decreasing emphasis on, or blurring of, boundaries would be regarded as a threat to group existence.

Therefore, there should be clear boundaries for individuals to identify within a group. To recognize another person as a member of an ethnic group means that a person shares common values and the same judgment. Ethnic groups persist only when boundaries persist. Any blurring of them will influence the individual's identification with the group (Giles and Johnson, 1981).

For Giles and Johnson (1981), the harder the boundaries are, the more strongly the members in a group will identify with the group. Hard boundaries enable the members to have a clear sense of identity and are determined by ascribed or inherited characteristics such as sex, skin or colour. This kind of group boundary is relatively closed and members are less able to leave it. When membership is determined by acquired characteristics such as education, speech, then group boundaries become soft, as members are more able to leave the group. They concluded that the perception of hard and closed boundaries enables the formation of ethnic identity in three ways (Giles and Johnson, 1981: 236):

- Categorization of self and other into clearly defined ethnic collectivities;
- The establishment of a concrete set of group norms guiding interethnic behaviors;
- A strong sense of ethnic identification.

There are inner boundary and outer boundary for groups. As Smith (1991: 183) puts it,

included within the inner boundary are our ethnic membership groups, and contained in the outer boundary groups are one's non-ethnic membership groups.

Ethnic boundaries are particularly important in the study of ethnic identity and this dimension is also the focus of this study as ethnic identity is maintained through boundary markers. Therefore, to examine the Macanese identity is to find out what type of boundary or boundary markers the Macanese have and whether the administration shift has changed the boundary or boundary markers of the group.

2.1.2.5 Ethnicity as Minority Status

Edwards (1994) states that ethnicity is not equivalent to ethnic minority membership and it can also be used to refer to the dominant group. According to Horowitz (1991), there are two types of group relations – parallel and hierarchical. If ethnic groups are parallel, neither group is subordinate to the other. The groups coexist and the group itself has its own stratification. If ethnic groups are hierarchical, one is dominant and the other is subordinate. With this kind of intergroup relation, the subordinate group experiences discriminatory treatment and is deprived of the rights to have equal status to the dominant group. However, he further explains that this grouping is not entirely clear in practice. It is unlikely to have all the members of the dominant group in an economic class above all the members of the subordinate group in modern societies. This does not imply that the superordinate-subordinate relation does not exist (*ibid.*). In modern societies, the relation is a combination of the hierarchical and the parallel, that is to say, the top level which has the power in the decision-making of government policy is mainly the dominant group and under this the other groups coexist. Because, in modern societies, upward mobility is not as difficult as it used to be, as a result, individuals who are members of a minority group are able to move upward in the social stratification through achievement in education. However, they can only move up until a certain point – not the positions that

have the power to determine government policy. This is why they are regarded as the subordinate group, as they do not receive equal opportunity as the dominant group and their interest cannot be effectively represented in the society. This seems to apply to the status of the Macanese group in Macau (see section 1.2.1).

Ethnic identity is one kind of group membership which is particularly important in studying minority groups. As Keefe (1992) mentions, one aspect of ethnic identity is the perception of prejudice and discrimination against one's own ethnic group. Phinney (1996) also states that one dimension of ethnicity is the experiences associated with minority status, which are to try to gain equal status with the dominant group and to gain acceptance and recognition. For most ethnic minorities, ethnic group identity is very important as this provides them with a certain self-concept. When immigrants are forced to become an ethnic minority in the host country, language usually becomes an important means for these subordinate groups to maintain group identity and to act as an expression of group membership. Nevertheless, ethnic group language very often ceases to become a group language when there are

conflicting interests between full participation of ethnic minority groups in the dominant society and their maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic group language (Kroon, 1990: 422).

Xie and Goyette's (1997) concluded that members of a group who feel that their cultural and political identity is threatened are likely to make particularly assertive claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting their language.

Although ethnicity is not equivalent to ethnic minority, the studies of ethnic identity are very often studies of minority groups. Ethnic identity cannot be understood without considering the minority status in relation to the dominant group (Smith, 1989). The Macanese, although a privileged group compared with the Chinese before the handover, still regarded themselves as a politically

deprived group (a minority). After the handover, the Macanese even regard themselves as the most deprived minority and therefore may need to change the construct of their boundaries in order to have a positive self image. This is also one of the important aspects to look into in the Macanese identity.

2.1.2.6 Multiple-Group Membership

An individual member of an ethnic group has multiple group membership. For Ross (1979), multiple group membership affects the nature of group boundaries and the individual's personal attachment to a group in a number of ways. First, it may reduce the hardness of group boundaries. Second, individuals who have multiple group membership may see ethnolinguistic differences as more salient. Third, individuals with high social status are more attached to the group than those of low social status (Ross, 1979).

Brewer's Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (1999), which is based on the multiple group membership, suggests that

social identity is derived from the opposing forces of universal human motives – the need for inclusion and assimilation, on the one hand, and the need for differentiation from others on the other (Brewer, 1999: 188).

People's identity is formed by the combination of the different identities to satisfy these two opposing forces. Brewer suggests three possible situations in which individuals handle the different identities. The first one is a situation in which the individual experiences two identities that are completely separate. Both identities are independent of each other and each provides the basis of self-categorization in different situations. Each identity has a different role which satisfies the needs for differentiation and inclusion (Brewer, 1999).

The second one is a joint group identity. This is a situation in which individuals are members of both groups. An individual who is a member of

group A but not group B is not regarded as ingroup member. The joint membership serves the needs for inclusion and differentiation (Brewer, 1999).

The third one (*ibid.*) is nested identities, that is one identity is dominant and the other is subordinate. The two identities serve the two different needs in a complementary manner. The dominant group identity serves the need for inclusion while the subordinate identity satisfies the need for differentiation. This form is different from the second one in the way that

at the superordinate level all members of group A are ingroup members, regardless of whether they are members of group B or not. At the subordinate level, however, only members of group B who are also members of group A constitute the ingroup (Brewer, 1999: 190).

The concept of multiple group membership, to which Brewer (1999) said researchers do not give enough attention, and social identity theory are important in understanding the Macanese ethnic identity. It is important to know how the multiple group membership of the Macanese affects their group boundaries especially since they are of mixed descent.

2.1.2.7 Ethnic Identity is Mutable

The literature indicates that ethnic identity is susceptible to change. Change involves the change of identity which is the shift from one ethnic identity to another, the change of boundaries which is a change of criteria to include and exclude memberships, or the change of identity situationally, which is a temporary one.

Berry (1990) mentions four alternative acculturation strategies that minorities adopt when in contact with majorities. These are integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. In integration, one's own culture is maintained and at the same time one develops and maintains identification with the larger society. In assimilation, one's original culture is given up to maintain the majority culture. In separation, the majority culture is not

accepted and only the minority culture is retained. In marginalization, there is a low retention of both minority and majority culture. Different strategies may be used in different aspects, as Liebkind (1999: 142) puts it,

one may seek economic assimilation (in work), linguistic integration (by way of bilingualism), and marital separation (by endogamy). This implies that the minority can share some values with the majority without sacrificing their minority culture.

Another type of identity change is 'passing', which, according to Beloto and Beloto (1984: 28), is

a strategy of avoidance whereby a member of an oppressed minority group attempts to escape the consequences of inferior status by secretly taking on the identity of and membership in another group.

Social Identity Theory postulates that members of a group will adopt certain strategies in order to change their self-concept if it is unfavourable. Individuals may try to change group so as to get a positive image about themselves. If changing groups is not possible, they may then use some strategies to change their unfavourable condition. Strategies may be in several forms. One of these is linguistic, which will be discussed in the next section. The result of the study by Fu *et al.* (1999) shows that when intergroup context changes, the frame of reference for social comparison, the referential meaning of an identity and the definition of group membership, also change.

Another kind of identity change is situational change which is especially common among mixed-heritage individuals because they are of mixed descent and belong to two ethnic groups. Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) reported, in their study of individual's of mixed descent, that adolescents' ethnic identity varied according to the situation they were in and the people they were with. Collins (2000: 239-40) also found that

most participants presented a situational use of ethnic identity. They maximized half their identity and used it to their advantage, thus

making their identity fluid and flexible. They were able to easily move between two monoracial groups simultaneously if necessary.

Ethnic identity is susceptible to change, and one should bear this in mind when examining this issue. As the subjects of this study are also of mixed descent, it may also be interesting to see whether the different kinds of identity change mentioned above are also applicable to them.

2.1.2.8 Biracial Ethnic Identity

Apart from minority status, biracial ethnic identity is also an important part in the study of ethnic identity. Considerable attention has been given to the study of minority ethnic identity but studies of mixed racial identity are comparatively few and it is particularly vital in this study as the subjects are people of mixed racial identity.

The early literature relating mixed racial identity came from Park, a Chicago School sociologist. He stated (Park, 1928: 881) that

ordinarily the marginal man is a mixed blood, like the mulatto in the United States or the Eurasian in Asia, but that is apparently because the man of mixed blood is one who lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less a stranger.

Some studies of biracial individuals focus on the developmental stages. Gibbs (1989) suggests that there are three stages through which a biracial child passes in acquiring a positive self-concept, while Poston (1990) introduces five stages of biracial identity development.

Other studies focus on the multidimensional aspect of identity. For example, Stephan and Stephan (1989) conducted research to explore whether individuals of mixed heritage were more likely to identify with a single ethnic group. The subjects of the study were Japanese American and Hispanic American college students. The results showed that a high percentage of

respondents identified themselves as having a multiple ethnic identity. Results from Collins's study (2000: 242) showed that

biracial identity is a dynamic and developing concept. The impact of race, ethnicity, and minority status on these biracial individuals and how they understood the process varied with age, developmental level, and the social context.

Besides, their ethnicity varies. As she puts it (*ibid.*: 240)

this 'chameleon' effect allowed them to integrate both cultures despite the absence of other biracial individuals. They may have identified with one cultural/ethnic group, but they learned about the racial/ethnic heritage of the other group. For some, it was a survival tool; for others, it was a method to deal with their struggle against marginalization and isolation. To the extent an individual's identity is associated with similar members of a group, this situational use of identity appeared to be a self-protective mechanism.

The multiple membership nature of the biracial individuals is evident from the above literature and may well be used to conceptualize the pattern of how people of two ethnic groups, as the Macanese in our study, handle their multiple ethnic identities.

2.1.2.9 Summary

In sum, ethnic identity is

- a group identity and the group can be small, large, dominant or subordinate;
- an identity which enables a group to compare with other groups;
- an identity which is maintained through group boundaries;
- maintained by group boundaries which consist of objective and subjective characteristics;
- particularly important in the study of minority groups;
- a multiple group membership;
- mutable;

- important in the study of biracial individuals.

All these dimensions are important in this study in examining the Macanese group identity – how they compare themselves to the other groups in Macau, the characteristics which form the boundaries, the minority and biracial status of the group, and also the multiple and mutable aspects of this group identity.

The next section presents a discussion of the role of language in ethnic identity as a separate issue because it is often a crucial boundary indicator and also because this will prove to be one of the focuses of this thesis.

2.2 Language and Ethnic Identity

The relationship between language and ethnic identity is complex, and language has always been regarded as having an important role in the maintenance of ethnic identity.

For Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 248), language is

a very overt symbolisation of ourselves and of our universe, not only in the various grammars and lexicons and prosodies we can create for various domains of that universe, but also through the social marking which each occasion of use carries. Language is not only itself the focal centre of our acts of identity; it also consists of metaphors, and our focusing of it is around such metaphors or symbols

Therefore, language plays an important role and is an overt marker of ethnic identity. According to Edwards (1994: 128),

among all the factors which contribute to a sense of 'groupness', language is a main one. It serves to sustain a group boundary, to maintain identity and to retain a sentimental and emotional grip on the group.

For Hoffmann (1991: 199),

language is a tangible, immediately noticeable indicator of group identity and it has two important functions in ethnicity. It provides to maintain the group's feeling of unity and it helps to set the group apart from others.

Gumperz (1982) believes that language is considered to be one of the most important and powerful influences on ethnic identity development. Heller (1988: 308) considers there to be a close connection between language and ethnicity. She concludes that

language is a symbol of ethnic identity, and language choice is a symbol of ethnic relations as well as a means of communication.

Khleif (1975) states that a change of language leads to a change of identity because ethnic groups regard language as a marker for group distinctiveness. Giles and Johnson (1987) focus on language as an important marker for social identity. Language, according to Ovando and Collier (1985), is the most important means for social relations and that it is a symbol for group identity which helps develop positive self-concepts.

2.2.1 Theoretical Framework

Several theories are useful in approaching this issue. They are: social identity theory, ethnolinguistic theory, interactional theory and SLA theory.

Social identity theory considers language as one of the important aspects for maintaining group membership. As previously mentioned (section 2.1.2.6), when comparison with another group is not favourable, individuals may adopt several strategies in order to achieve a more positive self-concept. If ethnic identity is important to a group, members in a group will use linguistic strategies for positive differentiation. One of the strategies is to adopt the

linguistic characteristics of the group that can give a more positive self-image, and in order to try to attenuate the in-group's speech markers (Giles, 1978). According to the theory, this may not always be successful and can lead to 'subtractive bilingualism' for an ethnic group with an inadequate social identity (Lambert, 1980).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggests that there are two strategies of positive differentiation of the subordinate ethnic group – social creativity and social competition. Social creativity refers to the strategies to reinterpret the aspects of comparison between subordinate and dominant ethnic groups so as to maintain the positive distinctiveness of a group. This can be achieved by:

1. Changing to a subordinate group which can provide positive comparison to the dominant group;
2. Changing the value of judgement of the present unfavourable comparison;
3. Comparing some new dimensions which members of the ingroup feel superior to the out-group.

Social competition refers to the strategies to change ingroup and outgroup status (*ibid.*). When members of the subordinate group feel that they can change their inferior situation, they will start to challenge the superiority of the dominant group (*ibid.*). In many cases, the social competition is in the form of linguistic competition. Tajfel (1978) concludes that language is an important aspect in the theory of group identity.

Giles and Johnson's ethnolinguistic theory (1987) considers language as an important marker of group membership. Similar to Tajfel, they hypothesise that members of a group compare their own group to out-groups in order to differentiate their own group from out-group and to get positive distinctiveness so as to achieve a positive self. If the comparison is negative, individuals may adopt several strategies to attain a more positive identity.

They suggest that there are three types of factors which are important socio-structural variables. They are status, demographic and institutional support factors. Status factors are economic, political, social, sociohistorical and language status variables. Whether an ethnic language would become a boundary marker, very often, depends on the power that is associated with the language. As we shall explain below, there are different kinds of power that can be achieved through a language: political power, economic power and the social power which one can derive or gain from an ethnic language. Demographic factors include those concerning the distribution and the numbers of the group. Institutional support factors include representation of the ethnic group in mass media, education, government, industry, religion and culture (*ibid.*). All these factors determine the vitality of the group.

It has been proposed that the higher a subordinate group perceives its vitality to be, the more likely its members will accentuate their ethnolinguistic features in interethnic encounters when they are aware of cognitive alternative to the existing interethnic status hierarchy (Giles, 1978: 231).

However, according to Hansen and Liu (1997), Giles and Johnson's ethnolinguistic theory does not consider difference among groups and individuals, and their categories of ethnolinguistic identity are too rigid and narrow. Another concern is that their theories of identity were formed

on the basis of research on a few individuals who have been taken to represent the behaviour of individuals in their respective groups (Hansen and Liu, 1997: 571).

Taking another perspective, interactional theories such as Gumperz and Heller believe that ethnicity is established and maintained through language. Language and ethnicity interact in several ways (Heller, 1987). Language may

symbolise group identity and become emblems of that identity, especially when there is contact with other groups whose ways of being are different' (*ibid.*: 180)

She also suggests that 'language is a symbol of ethnic identity, and language choice is a symbol of ethnic relations as well as a means of communication' (Heller, 1987: 180). The interactional theory stresses the choice of language and interaction, which provides a framework for the SLA theories.

Peirce's Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory (1995), which has great influence in the study of the relationship between identity and language learning, points out that

theorists have not developed a comprehensive theory of social identity which integrates the language learner and the language learning context (Peirce, 1995: 9)

In her study, she used the data collected from female immigrants in Canada through diaries, questionnaires, interviews and home visits, and came to the conclusion that

the role of language is constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's social identity . . . if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners will expect or hope to have a good return on that investment – a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources (*ibid.*: 17).

2.2.2 Studies Related to Language and Identity

Work by Tse (1996) which tried to explore the role of language in ethnic identity and the process of ethnic identity formation suggested that language is important in identity formation. A study by Nasu (1997) which attempted to examine the language attitudes and Japanese language maintenance among a group of second generation Japanese in Melbourne found that the differences

in social identity between the two groups affects the language attitudes and Japanese language maintenance of the children at home. A study by Morris (1996: 29) which studied the language and national identity in twentieth century Puerto Rico showed that

language has served as a symbol of both difference from the sovereign power and of political partisanship with the island.

A study by Bosher (1997) investigated the cultural identity of a group of recent US immigrant Hmong college students. The results showed that

most of the Hmong students felt it was important to maintain the Hmong language in order to maintain their culture.... (*ibid.*: 600)

In a study by Schecter and Bayley (1997), four Mexican-descent families in California were studied. It was found that

parents in the studies enforced Spanish maintenance and spoke of the language as an important aspect of their sense of cultural identity (*ibid.*: 513).

It seems that language plays an important role in maintaining group identity. However, though language may be an important or even an indispensable aspect in these studies, in other studies it does not appear to be crucial in sustaining group identity.

Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) showed that, apart from language, factors such as religion, cultural background, family characteristics were also essential in maintaining ethnic identity. In Rosenthal and Hrynevich's study (1985) which explores the dimensions of ethnic identity in a sample of Greek-Australians and Italian-Australians, it was found that ethnic identity is multidimensional in nature and distinctive group characteristics, such as language, religion, social activities, maintenance of cultural traditions, family life and physical characteristics are all important. (Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1985). There are other studies which show that there are factors other than

language to maintain group identity. Omar (1991) suggested that social networks are vital to maintain the cultural heritage and ethnicity of a human group. Khemlani-David (1998: 75) also illustrated that

language is merely one aspect of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Ethnicity can still be maintained even if a community has shifted to English. For a community that has shifted away from its ethnic language, other markers of ethnicity may become more salient.

In these studies, language was shown not to be very important to maintain group identity. Other markers such as religion, social networks, customs, kinship and social ties were more important. These markers, according to Khemalani-David, are essential in maintaining ethnic identity.

The distinction mentioned earlier between subjective and objective dimensions of ethnicity are to be found in Tan's paper (1997) where it is mentioned that

if we study ethnic identity, the people's own ethnic perception must be our primary consideration (Tan, 1997: 31).

He argues that one has to distinguish subjective identification and objective cultural manifestation, and it is misleading to use objective cultural criteria of Chineseness to determine whether the acculturated Chinese are Chinese or not. He gave an example of Melaka Baba Chinese whose mother tongue is Baba Malay rather than a Chinese language. He said that, although their mother tongue is not Chinese, if they perceive themselves to be Chinese, then they are Chinese. Therefore, it is the subjective identification (internal boundaries) which is important. Seen in this light, it is the factors which form the internal boundaries that are important in maintaining a sense of ethnicity. Language is not a major factor to sustain group boundary according to his view.

Hoffmann (1991: 197) suggests that it is

the desire for self-determination and the wish to strengthen and preserve the group ties in relation to other groups which is important.

For preserving identity, objective features such as religion or language are considered as less important.

2.2.3 Language and Power

Whether an ethnic language is an important boundary marker, very often, depends on the power that is associated with that language. Language can determine whether one can access to political power and economic power. In some cases, economic power seems to be the most important factor to consider when acquiring a language. In other cases, political power seems to be vital. According to Baker (1996: 53),

The social status of a language – its prestige value – will be closely related to economic status of a language and is also a powerful factor in language vitality. When a majority language is seen as giving higher social status and more political power, a shift towards the majority language may occur.

Therefore, a language of high status is usually related to its economic and political power. As for the minority, a shift towards the majority language may occur when their ethnic language fails to provide them with any economic or political benefits.

Apart from the association with economic and political power, a language also has a symbolic status which may be an important marker for ethnic identity maintenance. For Baker (1996: 54),

A heritage language may be an important symbol of ethnic identity, of roots in the glorious past. There exists interest in the survival of the

minority language, but not in personal involvement in that language as a symbol of ethnic history, of heritage and national culture.

This, as mentioned in section 1.2.2, is a situation in which a language has lost its communicative purpose but remains a valued symbolic feature of the group. Therefore, we can see that language and its power relations have an important role in one's identity maintenance. The power associated with a language would certainly affect people's language choice and the choice itself may affect one's identity.

In some cases, when a language has lost its economic power, a group may shift to another language even though their ethnic language is an important marker for identity maintenance. Economic power has thus outweighed ethnic maintenance.

If language is an important marker of the group, the shift to another language may have an impact on one's identity. This is always the case of a group when an ethnic language is a barrier to social advancement (Edwards, 1994). In this case, an ethnic language will still remain as important but there is no personal involvement in the language and the language has moved to a symbolic status.

This may be the case of the Macanese who have just experienced a political change and a consequent shift of language importance. The power relations which were associated with the languages Chinese and Portuguese have changed and, as a result, the status of the languages has also changed. The Macanese, having carefully considered the interests and purpose of the two languages, may need to adjust so as to achieve economic betterment.

2.2.4 Summary

It seems that language may not be the only factor to sustain group boundary and that other factors are equally important. In some studies, language is of

primary importance in sustaining group boundary while language is not essential in other studies. This seems to suggest that language may be an important indicator in some communities and it may not be important in other communities. In the former situation, both the social identity theory and ethnolinguistic identity theory suggest that several linguistic strategies may be adopted to increase the vitality of the group. These strategies are not only used by a minority to attain a positive self-concept; these may also be used by the majority group so as to undermine the increasing vitality of the minority group (Giles and Johnshon, 1981). Very often, the power which is associated with a language seems to have some influence on the maintenance of one's ethnic language. It is therefore interesting to examine which category the Macanese fall into. If language is an important marker, what strategies does the group use for self identification? If language is not an important marker in this group, what will be the important markers to maintain group boundary? How much influence does power have on the vitality of their ethnic language? In the next section, we will turn to another factor of major significance – the role of schooling.

2.3 Schooling and Ethnic Identity

The role of schooling in the maintenance of ethnic identity is not an issue for majority groups, as the language and culture at school are those of mainstream culture; it is only a problem for the minority group if no concessions are made in the culture or language when they attend mainstream school. There is always a dilemma for the minority group in choosing the mainstream school for full participation in the society or a minority school for ethnic identity maintenance. In fact, a lot of research (Kroon, 1990) has been conducted to examine this issue in order to help the minority groups to have full and equal participation in the society and to give grounds to formulate education policy,

as the way in which policy is formulated may have a great impact on the group.

In order to address this issue, the relationship between language and schooling, culture and schooling, education policy and schooling will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.1 Language and Schooling

One direction is to look into the role of language in the maintenance of ethnic identity in schools. As Edwards (1985: 118) mentions,

education has often been perceived as the central pillar in group-identity maintenance, providing an essential support for linguistic nationalism and ethnic revival.

If this is the case, there should be language education policy in multi-ethnic countries which enables the minority group to preserve its minority language for the maintenance of ethnic identity. It is important because of the view that language loss leads to further marker erosion (Edwards, 1994). In other words, if language loss could not be prevented, then an ethnic group will gradually lose its group distinctiveness. One way to prevent language loss is to put it in the curriculum, so that the children of the minority groups can learn it formally at schools. It is also a way to show the acceptability of the minority language by the dominant group. As school is one of the main channels for children to learn languages, schools in this sense can help ethnic maintenance.

A study by Byram and Leman (1990) which examined Italian in the Netherlands showed that language is one of the boundary markers for the parents. When the parents felt their own knowledge of Italian was not strong enough to mark the boundary or to pass to their children, school was seen as a

means for their children to learn Italian so as to maintain their Italian identity and to be able to use the language when in Italy.

2.3.2 Culture and Schooling

The teaching of language alone, without the culture of an ethnic group at schools, may not have any impact on the maintenance of ethnic identity (Luchtenberg, 1998). In order to acquire the culture of an ethnic group, one way is to send children to a minority school so that the children can study with other children of the same ethnic background. This is shown in Byram's (1986) study of parents who sent their children to the institutions of the minority because they were from that minority. They believed the school could help their children to attain their German identity by providing the cultural environment. In this way, minority children are able to grow up without losing their own culture and identity. This could be a way to maintain one's own culture and ethnic identity, but children are confined to the people of their own group, which may deprive them of their right to have full participation in the mainstream society in the future.

Another view is to have a multicultural environment at school so that students of different ethnic groups are able to have more contact with other groups. It is through this contact that different ethnic groups may become more tolerant of each other (Luchtenberg, 1998; Pellebon, 2000). Luchtenberg (1998: 51) addresses the conditions of identity education in Germany and concludes that

identity education for all students must focus on a multilayered or multicultural identity in order to enable all students to develop role distance, ambiguity tolerance, empathy and presentation identity.

Ethnic identity maintenance in this sense does not stress the learning of one's ethnic language or culture but the perception of having equal status with other

groups in which a positive self-identity can be obtained. Therefore, multicultural identity education should be offered to enable students to

develop the multilayered or multicultural identity necessary for living in the complex societies of today's world (*ibid.*:61).

In his paper, Luchtenberg also mentions that a teacher's ethnicity and cultural background also have an effect on the transmission of culture. Evidence is given by McAlpine *et al.*'s (1996) study, in which a teacher from one culture did not adequately represent the complexity and diversity in classrooms of another culture.

2.3.3 Education Policy and Schooling

Language has always been regarded as an important element in ethnic identity and therefore governments which subscribe to the purpose of maintaining ethnic identity of the minority group have often adopted bilingual/bicultural/multilingual/multicultural education policy (Driessen, 2000). However, ethnic identity maintenance seems to be much more than simply just the learning of one's ethnic language or culture at school.

As Edwards (1985: 130) states

there is no reason to suppose that schools alone can significantly affect maintenance. While education offers itself as a visible and often manipulable resource, its power here has been much overrated. Schools can, however, provide tolerant atmospheres which do not act against the expression and continuation of groupness. Practically speaking, it is unlikely that their contribution can be much greater.

Kroon (1990) and Driessens' (2000) report studies on the educational policy measures taken in the Netherlands. The aim of the measures was to provide children from minorities with the opportunity to learn their own language and culture in the classroom at primary level. The Dutch language policy (1990)

encouraged the learning of Dutch and the minority language at the same time. The rationale of the policy was to enable the minorities to maximise their participation in Dutch society by learning Dutch, and that learning their own minority language could help them to acquire Dutch, minimise the gap between school and home environment and improve performance in other subjects. It could also enable them to reinforce their cultural identity and to develop a positive self-concept. Kroon points out that the minorities might not find it acceptable to have the dominant group's interference in ethnic identity maintenance and that the government's interference may turn out to have negative effect in the end. He concludes that

formulating and even practising an explicit multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual policy in educational contexts, incorporating community language teaching, does not necessarily lead to a type of education that contributes to ethnic identity maintenance.....on the contrary, the stimuli ethnic minority pupils get from their teachers, also without these teachers being aware of it, are more likely to lead to negatively affecting their identity (Kroon, 1990: 426).

Another point is that even though language is important to attain one's group identity, native speaker competence of ethnic language may not be required for minority membership. In fact, children need native-speaker competence of the dominant language to allow them 'to be accepted by those who hold economic power in the majority society' (Byram, 1991: 63). Learning one's own minority language may only be one of the several factors to maintain one's group identity. Therefore, minority and its policy-makers should bear this in mind so as not to

run the risk of reducing the minority children's capacity to function in the socio-economic world of the majority (Byram, 1991: 64).

Haug (1998) conducted a study to examine 'mixed' primary children in Belize. The study found that

because the increasingly widespread practice of ethnic mixing is unacknowledged, there is a discrepancy between what is taught in school and the daily life of children (*ibid.*: 44).

Her research shows that children clearly are active participants in the construction of their own identity, even if their constructions are not recognised by the adult community and even if children are labelled by adults according to adult needs and perceptions. The importance of this research is that

there is more to teaching about multiculturalism than devising a curriculum and implementing it, and the consequences of any given curriculum can have effects that are dramatically different from what its originators intended (*ibid.*: 63).

2.3.4 Summary

Education has been found to have a close relationship with ethnic identity because the language and the culture which schools offer and the policy of the government might also have an impact on ethnic identity. Further, there are a lot of other factors such as teacher's attitudes, the school's atmosphere and academic achievement which can also exert a positive influence on identity maintenance. On the other hand, some literature does not seem to support the views that there should be direct administrative involvement in education for identity maintenance. The language and culture which are on offer at schools may not help ethnic identity maintenance. Perhaps, more studies of this kind are needed to see whether this is true across different groups and cultures. Therefore, one of the aims of this study is to see what the effects of schooling are on Macanese identity.

2.4 Conclusion

Given the uniqueness of Macau's history and culture, the shift of status of the two ethnic groups, and the *laissez-faire* education policy before the political change, it is worth conducting research to consider these issues in order to find out, first, what is happening in Macau; second, by comparison of Macau with other cases, if there are similarities and differences across different cultures.

Knowing a group's features, both objective and subjective, is important in order to investigate ethnic identity as they can serve as a basis of the study. Different groups may have different constructs of their ethnic identity which may affect the way they maintain their identity. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct studies of this kind with groups of different backgrounds. Macau seems to be a useful place for a study of these issues, not least because of its uniqueness in history and political situations. One focus of this research will therefore be on the definition and understanding of ethnicity and ethnic identity among the Macanese.

Another aim of this study is to examine the role of language, if any, in the ethnic identity maintenance of the Macanese. The literature in section 2.2 suggests that language may be an important symbol of ethnic identity and the choice of language is often associated with power.

Furthermore, when comparison with another group becomes unfavourable, individuals may adopt several strategies in order to achieve a positive self-concept and positive distinctiveness. This applies to both the dominant and subordinate groups. The political change in Macau is very likely to bring about a change in self-perception of the Macanese. The mother tongue of the Macanese, Portuguese language, which used to be the most important language in the government, has become a less important language. Although

it is still an official language in Macau, its status has gradually changed to becoming largely symbolic. In this situation, the group may need to use certain strategies so as to maintain a favourable comparison not only with respect to language but also in other dimensions of their ethnic identity.

The literature in section 2.3 shows that schooling is also often an important factor for identity maintenance. However, some studies do not seem to support the view that there should be administrative involvement from the dominant group in the education policy to help ethnic identity maintenance of the minority group because this may create more problems. However, minority groups are not all in the same situation, from the same culture or have the same experience. Therefore, a study is needed to find out what a group is or what a group needs before formulating education policy. The case in Macau, which has just gone through political change, is worth looking into in this respect. This study will therefore provide some insight into the issues which need to be addressed in education policy formulation in Macau in the future.

As a focus for the issues summarised above, the following^o research questions, which have been introduced in chapter one, are to be examined in this study:

1. How do the Macanese maintain their group identity?
2. What role, if any, does language play in Macanese identity maintenance?
3. What role, if any, does schooling play in Macanese identity maintenance?

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter two provided a review of related literatures, a discussion of the theories, and proposed the focus for this study, formulated as research questions. The purposes of this chapter are to review the methodology chosen to study ethnic identity, the relationship between language and identity, and the relationship between identity, language and education in other studies, to explain the rationale of the methodology in this study, and to explain how the data were collected, arranged and analyzed, before going to the in-depth analysis of the data in the following chapter. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is a review of the different methods that researchers have used to investigate the issue of ethnic identity, language and education. The second part is a discussion of the rationale of the methodology developed for this study, a description of the pilot test, instruments, and procedures of how the data are collected and analyzed.

3.1 The Methodologies Used in Other Similar Studies

Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are employed to study ethnic identity. With regard to the techniques to collect data, some researchers choose only one method while others choose a combination of methods. A review of the literature shows that most studies have adopted quantitative methods and have been mostly confined to the use of questionnaires. The following is a review of the methods that have been used in the studies of ethnic identity; they are categorised as questionnaires, interviews, case studies, observations and a combination of methods.

3.1.1 Questionnaire

A number of measures have been developed and used to examine ethnic identity. For example, Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) formulated the Ethnic Identification Scale (EIS) to elicit dimensions of ethnic identity. For Rosenthal and Cichello (1986), Ethnic Identification Inventory, Perceptions of Ethnicity Inventory, Italian Parental Inventory, Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory and Self-Image Questionnaire were adopted to explore both the predictors of ethnic identity and psychosocial adjustment. Hui (1988) developed the Individualism-Collectivism Scale to measure group behaviour. Bond and Hewstone (1988) conducted a questionnaire to assess changing intergroup perceptions as a result of political change. The questionnaire was administered to British and Chinese high school students in Hong Kong before and after the signing of the Sino-British Declaration. Hinkle *et al.* (1989) formulated the Group Identification Scale which was derived from Brown's 10-item scale (1986) to examine the factor structure of an intragroup identification.

Phinney (1992) established the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure which can be used with all ethnic groups. Luhtanen and Crocker (1990) established the 16-item Collective Self-Esteem Scale in their study to assess one's social identity. Phinney and Chavira (1993) examined the effect of ethnic threat on adolescents' ethnic self-concept and own group ratings, and the role of self-esteem and ethnic identity in mediating this effect. They used the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) to measure ethnic identity, the Coopersmith Inventory (Coopersmith, 1981) to measure self-esteem, and the Private Collective Self-esteem Scale (Luhtanen and Crocker, 1990) to measure ethnic self-concept to 109 ninth-grade Hispanic students. Verkuyten and Kwa (1996) attempted to find out ethnic self-identification among Chinese youth living in the Netherlands. One hundred and nineteen respondents between 12 and 17 years old participated in the study. Three measures on a questionnaire were used. The first measure was the Twenty Statements Test (TST; Kuhn and McPartland, 1954). The second measure

was the question 'who am I not' (Hutnik, 1991). The third measure, an open-ended question – 'in terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be' (Phinney, 1992). Kwan and Sodowsky (1997) conducted a study to measure internal ethnic identity and external ethnic identity of Chinese American immigrants and used the Internal-External Ethnic Identity (Int-Ext Id) scale. The items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 6 = agree strongly to 1 = disagree strongly.

In order to study the relationship between language and identity, Giles and Johnson (1987) used a five-part questionnaire to 34 Welsh bilingual adolescents to test the ethnolinguistic identity theory. Kraemer *et al.* (1995) conducted a questionnaire to find out the pressures of a new culture as reflected in the acquisition of language of the adolescent immigrant.

Examining the interplay between ethnicity and school, Karasawa (1991) made a six-item identification scale to look at students' identification with the school. Pellebon (2000) used a questionnaire to probe for possible association of ethnic identity development with ethnicity, school interracial climate, and the racial majority in a school environment.

3.1.2 Interview

Empirical studies of Macanese identity are very few, one of the exceptions is Pina-Cabral (2002) who carried out fieldwork (interviews and observations) during short visits to Macau between 1990-1995. Larkey and Hecht (1995) adopted a snowball sampling method at a major university, two community colleges and community groups in a large metropolitan area in the southwestern United States. Each participant was asked to recruit an additional respondent, an African American friend or associate when possible. The aim of the study was to find out the differences in ethnic identity for African Americans and European Americans and 'the strength or salience of those identities as they are related to relationships and interethnic conversational outcomes' (Larkey and Hecht, 1995:

48). Tse (1996) conducted a study to explore the ethnic identity formation process and to discover the role of language in the ethnic identity development of five language minority adults and any changes in that role over time. She conducted in-depth interviews with five U.S. born ethnic and language minority adults

For language and identity, Papademetre (1994) investigated aspects of Greek and English language use among some second, and third generation bilinguals living in Australia, using structured interviews to collect data. Peirce (1995) employed in-depth interviews in her longitudinal study of five immigrant women in Canada. Oyetada (1996) attempted to find out whether bilingualism, in itself, has an impact upon ethnic identity and ethnic attitudes. He interviewed 180 respondents and asked them questions ranging from language ability, language use to language attitudes and inter-ethnic relations. For language ability, two complementary methods were used: self-rating of ability and a listening comprehension exercise. Pao, Wong and Teuben-Rown (1997) conducted a study to look into the identity formation of mixed-heritage adults by using interviews with two focus groups of mixed-heritage adults. Niemann *et al.* (1999) examined the social construction of Mexican Americans' ethnic identity by asking focus group participants to talk about what it meant to them to be a member of their ethnic groups.

3.1.3 Observation

Khemlani-David (1998) examined the relationship between reduced use and non-use of an ethnic language and its effect on the cultural and ethnic identity of a minority ethnic group, the Sindhis of Malaysia, by participant-observation, ethnographic methodology. Hunter (1997) adopted a micro-ethnographic method to look into identity in relation to school expectations through participating herself in class as an observer. Byram (1986) participated and observed in a German school in Demark in order to understand the process of schooling in the minority school.

3.1.4 Combination of Different Methods

Gumperz (1982) has conducted a number of longitudinal studies to study social identity and language in which the relationship between code switching and social situation was examined. Both observations and interviews were used. Rosenthal and Hrynevich (1985) explored the dimensions of ethnic identity in a sample of Greek-, Italian-, and Anglo-Australian adolescents by a self-report questionnaire (EIS) and an interview. In this approach, the interview was regarded as potentially validating the questionnaire.

To test the social identity perspective how individuals maintain their social identities across transitions and in response to threat, Ethier and Deaux (1994) conducted a longitudinal study of ethnic identity among Hispanic college students, who were interviewed three times during their first year at universities with predominantly European American student bodies, then students were asked to name their important identities, providing examples such as age, gender, relationships, and race or ethnicity, as well as to complete standardised survey measures of collective self-esteem. Goldstein's (1996) research on female Portuguese immigrant workers in a Canadian factory adopted interviews and observations in the methodology. Heller (1988) conducted research using observation, conversation analysis, and interviews in various Anglophone and Francophone communities. Norton (1997) conducted longitudinal studies to examine the relationship between language and identity. She collected data from female immigrants in Canada through diaries, questionnaires, interviews and home visit to test her hypothesis that the learning of a foreign language is seen as an investment in one's social identity.

Bosher (1997) used both questionnaire and interviews to examine the cultural identity of the second generation of a group of recent immigrants to the U.S. Hmong college students, to determine the relationships among acculturation, ethnic identity, SLA native language maintenance, self-esteem, and academic success (Bosher, 1997: 593). Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) attempted to

identify the ways in which minority adolescents deal with being part of two cultures. They studied 46 middle-and working-class Mexican American and 52 middle-class African American students from ethnically diverse high schools in Southern California. Participants were interviewed about their sense of being ethnic, American and bicultural, and they also completed questionnaire measure (MEIM) of ethnic identity, American identity, other-group attitudes, self-concept, and anxiety.

Haug (1998) focused on the ethnic identity of children in Belize, and adopted the qualitative method by interviews with the teacher and children on their ethnicity. She collected tests, drawings and papers in which notions of ethnicity were a part, and attended classes every day as an observer. She asked both teachers and children what they believed their ethnic identification to be and interviewed, either formally or informally, 161 children to determine how they identified themselves ethnically. She also interviewed each teacher to record the 'official' identification for every child.

3.1.5 Summary

A lot of measures have been employed in many studies and have been proved to have high reliability and validity. Each measure focuses on a particular dimension or in some studies various dimensions of ethnic identity. For example, Giles and Johnson's measure puts emphasis on ethnolinguistic vitality and Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure examines affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement and ethnic self-identification of a group. Rosenthal and Hrynevich's Ethnic Identification Scale (EIS) was designed to study the nature of ethnic identity in younger and older adolescents of Greek and Italian origin as well as those from the dominant Australian society. To ascertain the different aspects of ethnic identity, researchers adopt different measures in a single study. A questionnaire is most frequently used in studies because it has advantages of being an objective instrument and the analysis and conclusions are only based on

the data; the personal opinion and bias of the researcher can be avoided and it is also relatively straightforward to analyse (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). Besides, the cost and time required are relatively less compared to other methods. However, it may be difficult to gather a respondent's opinion rigorously because of the difficulty common to many questionnaires of formulating unambiguous questions about very complex issues (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, the rate of return of the questionnaire is sometimes low.

The interview is regarded as a recommended method in examining ethnic identity (Niemann *et al.*, 1999). As the construct of ethnic identity differs between groups and individuals, the best way seems to ask what they think and what they interpret about their own group (*ibid.*). In this way, the interviewer is able to obtain more information, clarify unclear responses and obtain information which may not be able to get in other research methods. Nevertheless, the interviews also have drawbacks (Patton, 1990). The number of respondents is relatively limited compared to the questionnaire survey. As it is not possible to interview everybody in the entire population, a sample is necessary. The validity of the research is low if the sample is biased. Another disadvantage is that 'it is prone to subjectivity and bias on the part of the interviewer' (Cohen *et al.*, 2000: 269). Further, there is the danger of data reduction during the process of coding, i.e. that coding leads to complex issues being simplified and some information getting lost in the process.

Observation can, if used properly, avoid the inaccuracy and bias of some self-report data and therefore get more accurate data (Gall *et al.*, 1996). Nevertheless, observation can be a time-consuming method compared to other research methods. Besides, the presence of an observer may change the behaviour of the ones being observed (Patton, 1990)

As seen from the above, both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to investigate ethnic identity. The methods, no matter qualitative or quantitative,

have their merits and demerits. Therefore, researchers adopt a combination of two so as to complement and supplement each other.

3.2 Methodology in this Study

3.2.1 Choice of Method

Researchers have adopted qualitative and quantitative methodologies, or a combination of both, to examine the issue of ethnic identity and its relationship with language and education. No matter which approach is chosen, there are always inadequacies. Hansen and Liu (1998) criticised researchers for the lack of dynamism in methodology in studying group identity. They (Hansen and Liu, 1998: 573) stated that

no matter how detailed and carefully undertaken, one time research cannot be adequate to study social identity, as social identity is often context bound, and therefore one time research yields only one view of a complex phenomenon.

Therefore, they suggested that more longitudinal studies with appropriate methodological choices should be conducted. Clearly 'one-shot' research cannot fully reflect the whole picture of group identity, as that is complicated and dynamic in nature. However, longitudinal studies also have demerits. It takes a long period of time to conduct the research and it needs a lot of resources. As it takes a long time, some participants may drop out of the research. The behaviour of the participants may change because of repeated interviews. It may also be difficult to analyse the complex data of longitudinal tests (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). It may not be possible to carry out a longitudinal study of this kind without enough time and support. With limited time and resources, the mode adopted in this research will also be one time research. Despite the fact that the result may only be 'one view of a complex phenomenon' (*ibid.*), the result of this study will still

have its significance because this study is the first of its kind in the field of education ever conducted in Macau using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted in this study so as to achieve triangulation. In this study, interview and questionnaire were chosen for data collection. A single method can only give a limited view of the whole picture and sometimes might even bias or distort the researcher's picture (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). The researcher, according to Lin (1976), will gain more confidence about the methods if the findings of two contrastive methods of the same study correspond to each other. For Patton (1990), quantitative methods enable the researchers to measure the reactions of a lot of people to a limited set of questions and therefore facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. On the other hand, qualitative methods allow the researchers to study selected issues in depth and detail and therefore produce a wealth of detailed information about a much smaller number of people and cases.

Researchers have claimed that the interview is a recommended method to study ethnic identity, as it is dynamic and unique to groups. For Niemann *et al.*, (1999: 48) 'the best way to understand how people construct ethnic identities is to ask persons directly what it means to them to be members of a given ethnic group'. Such a methodology is consistent with that of Ogbu (1990), which states that a group's cultural model is derived from what the members of a group say about their group.

There are advantages of using qualitative interviewing. Qualitative interviewing allows a participant to say what is meaningful to him or her in a relaxing way and it also allows the interviewer to use probes for more details and also allows the interviewer to use their knowledge, expertise and interpersonal skills to go in-depth with some interesting and unexpected ideas raised by the participants (Cohen *et al.*, 2000).

A semi-structured interview was used to elicit the subjects' self-descriptions of themselves and how they maintain their own boundaries in this study. Specific questions were used to explore their experience about the education system and the language policy of Macau. A questionnaire was designed to find out the different dimensions of ethnic identity and the role of language and education in maintaining group identity. Two methods were chosen to collect data not only because they supplemented or complemented each other but also because each method can contribute to the development of theory in ways that only each can. As Strauss and Corbin (1998: 34) state,

the qualitative should direct the quantitative and the quantitative feedback into the qualitative in a circular, but at the same time evolving, process with each method contributing to the theory in ways that only each can.

3.2.2 Instrument

Two methods, interview and questionnaire, were chosen for data collection so as to achieve triangulation. The interview schedule was in four parts. (see Appendix VI) The first part was mainly questions about identity, which mainly addressed the first research question 'how do the Macanese maintain their identity'? The second part was about language and the third part was about language policy which are mainly for the second research question, and the last part was about education policy, which addressed the third research question. However, some questions were used to address all the research questions such as 'what language(s) do you think your children should learn', which can address all the three research questions, and the question 'how do you define Macanese' can also elicit answers to all the three questions. The interviewees needed to fill in some personal information before the interview. The question 'Is there anything that I didn't ask about that you think I should know' was also placed at the end of each interview.

A questionnaire asking the same type of questions was conducted to complement and supplement the findings of the interview. The questionnaire was derived from three questionnaires and was amended to suit the purpose of this study. It was further amended after the pre-pilot and pilot test. Rosenthal and Hrynevich's Ethnic Identification Scale (1985) was adopted as the first part of the questionnaire in order to find out the different characteristics that the Macanese group use to maintain their ethnic identity. The Scale was revised so as to suit the subjects of this study. The original questionnaire has 39 items and the revised one has 25 items. Items (6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 29, 35, 36, 37) of the original scale were omitted because these items were intended for migrants, which do not suit the respondents of this research. The term 'kid' has been changed to 'people' in the questionnaire. This part is mainly to discover the different features that the Macanese use to maintain their identity in order to answer the first research question.

The second part of the questionnaire was extracted from the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) (Bourhis *et al.*, 1981); the SVQ was originally designed to measure how group members perceive their own group and other groups. The higher the vitality of the ethnic language, the more likely their culture and identity could be maintained. The reason to adopt this questionnaire was to find out the role of language in maintaining group identity which served to answer the second and third research question. There were 22 questions in the original questionnaire. Three questions, which were not appropriate in this study, were omitted. Questions 20-24 were added to this questionnaire in order to find out the role of education in ethnic identity maintenance. Therefore, questions 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 11, 14 were adopted to address the second research question. Question 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 were intended to gather some background information of the group and also to answer the first research question. Questions 20-25 addressed the third research question.

Part 3 of the questionnaire was taken from Mann and Wong's (1999) questionnaire which was designed to examine the language use, preferences and attitudes of the people in Macau so as to answer the second and third research question. Question numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 were to answer research question one and numbers 4, 6, 8 were included to answer research question three. These measures were chosen because they had been used many times in similar studies and had proved to have high reliability and validity. The purpose of this questionnaire was to complement and supplement the data from the interviews. Subjects' personal information such as age group, sex, occupation, ethnicity and ethnicity identity of their parents was asked. No names were written in order to assure anonymity.

3.2.3 Participants

The approach adopted for selecting participants for the interviews was snowball or chain sampling (Patton, 1990: 176). The interview group of this study was Macanese from various backgrounds to whom the researcher had access and the interviewees were then asked to recruit an additional respondent, a Macanese friend or relation whom they thought were useful for this study as in Larkey and Hecht's study (1995)(see section 3.1.2). This kind of sampling (Patton, 1990: 182)

identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects.

As the questionnaire was to complement and supplement the interview data, a different sample was used for the questionnaire so as to see whether another group of Macanese also had the same opinion as the interviewees. This is a multimethod strategy which enables triangulation of data and methods.

The questionnaire sample was a convenience sample from Macau Polytechnic Institute. A convenience sample is often criticized because 'the generalizability of

the findings will be limited to the characteristics of the subjects' (McMillan and Schumacher, 2001: 175). However, the findings are still useful (*ibid.*). Because of limitations of context and time, convenience samples very often provide the only possibility for research. It is exactly the case in this study. Macanese is only a term used for those who are Portuguese-mixed descendents. It is not a formal term used in any official records and as a result there is no such thing as official record or national list of Macanese. Therefore, there is no way to have a random sample of Macanese in this study.

The Macau Polytechnic Institute is the only place where one can find a group of Macanese people from different backgrounds and social status gathered together. In fact, the convenience samples possessed the characteristics that were required for this study. As mentioned in chapter one, most of the Macanese work in the government and most of the subjects in this sample work in the government and are of different ages, education levels and income levels. Many of the Macanese went to Portugal after the handover. The ones who were studying written Chinese and Putonghua were those who had decided to stay in Macau and wanted to secure their job in the government. The main aim of this study was to see how this group of people (the Macanese who stay) maintained their identity. Therefore, the convenience samples in this study happened to be the ones that we want to examine.

3.2.4 Pre-pilot Test

A very small-scale pre-pilot test was used to see whether the interview questions could elicit the anticipated response from the subjects. The questionnaire was also tested to find out the problems which existed. This test was necessary to help improve the instrument and at the same time useful for the interviewer to have trial interview so as to avoid inappropriate use of responses and leading questions. One subject was chosen to fill in the questionnaires in the original form adopted

from studies and attend the interview. For the interview schedule and questionnaire used in the pre-pilot test see Appendices IV and I.

3.2.5 Pilot Test

The questionnaire and interview schedule were amended after the pre-pilot test. The original part 1 of the questionnaire was for immigrant children. The questions which were not appropriate for this study were omitted and the questions which were not suitable for this study were also taken out from part 2 of the questionnaire (for details see section 3.2.2). The improved version of the questionnaire was tested again in a pilot test with 2 Macanese. Two other Macanese were invited to participate in an interview. After the pilot test, two questions in part one of the questionnaire had problems because they were actually asking for two things in one question: item 17 about people whose parents were born in another country and who felt themselves to be a mixture of Chinese and another culture, and item 25 about people who get on well with everybody no matter what country they or their parents come from (see Appendix II). Some interview questions were also made shorter and clearer in order to make them easier to understand such as questions 3,4,5,6,7 which were originally one question (see Appendix V).

The subjects who took part in the pilot test were not invited as subjects again during the actual data collection. Results of the questionnaires and interviews were compared to find out the potential problems in analyzing the data. As a result, four more questions were added in the second part of the questionnaire in order to gather data to match the data from the interview.

Pre-pilot and pilot tests were conducted in order to test whether the answers of the instrument can answer the three research questions, in other words the validity of the questionnaire and the interview schedule.

3.2.6 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity are essential elements in a research and they should be addressed in studies (Elmes *et al.*, 2003). However, reliability as consistency across time was not emphasized in this research because this study was the first of its kind conducted in period during the handover when the situation of the Macanese was in flux. The group may have seen things differently because of the change. Therefore, this study is not intended to seek similar results as the studies conducted using the same methodology in the past. In fact, there are other methods that can determine the reliability of this study. We can use the test-retest method in which participants are given the test twice in succession over a short time interval (Elmes *et al.*, 2003). The split-half method could be used to obtain split-half reliability (*ibid.*). However, these methods were not used because they were not feasible in this study. The use of both questionnaire and interviews in order to corroborate data sources was undertaken in order to increase the reliability of this research.

Part I of the questionnaire was originally designed to measure the aspects of ethnic identity that members of a minority group might identify. It is a valid instrument to study ethnic identity. Part 2 of the questionnaire was also a widely used questionnaire to study group vitality with an emphasis on ethnolinguistic vitality. This instrument has been adopted in a number of studies (e.g. Yagmur *et al.*, 1999; Mann, 2002) and therefore its reliability was accepted. The third part of the questionnaire is from Mann and Wong which has been used to study the schools and language situations in order to look at the language policy of Macau.

Interviews were adopted in this study as the best way to ask people what they thought about themselves; this method is also adopted in studies of other cultures. In fact, different kinds of validity have been observed in this study. Instrument technique (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995) validity can be observed in the review of the methods used in other studies in section 3.1 as they show that the choice of

data collection techniques and instruments suits the type of research questions in this study. Further, cultural validity (*ibid.*) and descriptive validity (*ibid.*) were addressed by chapter one, in which the context was set to provide justifications to what has been set out to do in this study. The literature review provided the findings of studies of the same kind, which enables comparison of the findings of this study. This meets criterion validity (*ibid.*). The return of the translation of the scripts to the respondent for checking addresses respondent validation. Ecological validity (Schmuckler, 2001) was also demonstrated in the context of this study in that the administration change had affected the Macanese in various ways and that a study was not only justified on this issue but had to take account of this changing nature.

3.2.7 Procedure

The interviews and the questionnaires were conducted during the same period. Semi-structured interviews were adopted to allow depth in the answers. This kind of interview would provide more room for the interviewer to expand on the interviewees' responses (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995:157). In the interview, the interviewer first elicited the participant's ethnic label and asked them to fill in their age, occupation, income and education. The subsequent interview questions were all open-ended questions designed to find out the participants' views on identity maintenance, language and education. They were asked what they thought was important in maintaining their culture and their views on language and education in Macau. Regarding the role of language in maintaining group identity, they were asked their attitude to the languages they spoke. They were then asked whether they thought education and language policy were important for maintaining their identity. The questions were first asked in the order of the interview schedule but then the order of the questions changed to suit the flow of the interviewees' answer. Probes were used to gain in-depth and detailed understanding of the answers to the questions and sometimes interesting and unexpected answers from the participants. The interviews were tape-recorded

with the advance permission of the participants for further transcription. The time of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 120 minutes; twelve subjects were interviewed.

The questionnaire was administered in the Macau Polytechnic Institute to the Macanese who were learning Putonghua there. The questionnaire was originally in English and was translated by professional translators into Portuguese and an experienced Portuguese language teacher then proofread it. The questionnaire was offered in two languages – English and Portuguese. Participants could use the one with which they felt that they were comfortable to read. The subjects could use any of the three languages (Portuguese, English, Chinese) or a combination of them to answer the open-ended questions. The questionnaires were distributed during class time and collected in class. 160 questionnaires were distributed and 90 returned.

3.2.8 Ethics of the Research

Before each interview, the respondent was told that anonymity and confidentiality would be assured. Their name or any kind of identification would not be made public in any kind of documents or told to anybody. For the questionnaire, the participants were not required to fill in their name or their class so as to ensure anonymity (Cohen *et al*, 2001).

3.2.9 Method of Analysis

3.2.9.1 Interview Data

Grounded theory approach (constant comparative method of analysis) was adopted to handle the interview data. GT was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It is a general method to use on any kind or mix of data, and it is particularly useful with qualitative data (Glaser, 1998: 40-41) and it is also a

general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area (Glaser 1992: 16). This approach allows the use of any kind or mix of data to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon by constant comparison (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The data from the interviews were first transcribed and typed in the original language (Cantonese) and then returned to the interviewees to check whether the transcriptions were exactly what they said and whether they wanted to change anything. As mentioned in the previous section, this was done in order to achieve respondent validation. The transcriptions of the interviews were then coded and categorized one by one and compared. That is to say, the second interview was compared to the first one and the third one was compared to the first and second one. This was done to see the emerging theory. The categories were then examined so as to see the links between categories and the properties of each category. The categories were then compared again and contrasted to see whether there was any relationship between the different categories. The different categories which were related and similar to each other were integrated and synthesized into a core set of categories and themes. The themes which were formed by the core categories were then compared to the literature and to the quantitative analysis. This is important because it is a way to see whether there is any disagreement between the findings and the literature or the quantitative analysis

3.2.9.2 Questionnaire

SPSS (version 10.0) was used to handle the data from the questionnaires, as it is the most widely used software to calculate statistics in the field of education. Non-parametric methods were used to analyse the data. Non-parametric methods were used because a normal distribution is not appropriate and the sample size is small in this study. In part I, 25 statements were given in a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=very similar to 4=very different. Modal scores were calculated

with any cumulative percent smaller than 50 indicating an inclination towards similarity with the statements, while a value greater than or equal to 50 indicated an inclination towards different views. Mann-Whitney tests and Kruskal-Wallis test were conducted to find if there were any statistically significant differences according to different ages, gender, education and income. In part II, 25 questions were given in a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 7. Modal scores were calculated. The Friedman Test and the Binomial test were run in order to find out if there was a statistically significant difference between the modal scores. In part III, the frequencies of each item were counted in the 10 questions and the percentage of each item was then calculated to see which item was most frequently chosen.

3.3 Limitations of the Study

The following limitations were found but were unavoidable in this study:

The participants of the interviews and respondents of the questionnaires are a convenience sample instead of a random sample. They were the only available groups to which the researcher had access. The interviewees were from different government departments to which the researcher had access and they were asked to invite another Macanese person to participate in the interviews. Although they were mostly from the government (most Macanese work for the government), they were from different backgrounds and had different educational levels. The respondents to the questionnaires were the students of Putonghua evening classes at Macau Polytechnic Institute. Unlike the day schools, Macanese students of these classes were of different ages and different backgrounds. What, therefore, has to be stressed is that, although the sample was not found by random sampling, they were from different backgrounds, at different age groups, and of different education levels.

The next one is the timing: when the interviews and questionnaires were conducted. The interviews and questionnaires were administered in the same

period so as to avoid any time difference which may result in the inconsistencies in the interview and questionnaire results. Another reason for conducting both data collection methods at the same time was to avoid the direct influence of the qualitative aspect on the questionnaire construction and statistical results. However, the simultaneous carrying out of the two instruments led to insufficient statistical support to the qualitative data from the questionnaire because there were unexpected answers from the interviews. If the questionnaire had been designed and administered after the analysis of the interview data, the final version of the questionnaire could have been revised in a way which might enable the researcher to gather sufficient statistical data to support the findings from the interviews. The limited number of participants in the pre-pilot and the pilot test failed to allow the researcher to anticipate this problem.

Nevertheless, the study is the first of its kind undertaken about the Macanese identity and education after the handover. Studies on the Macanese in the past have been confined only to one method for data collection. This is the first one which adopted both questionnaires and interviews. As we have seen in previous chapters, findings from the interviews provide valuable contributions to the studies of the Macanese, education and also to the development of theory. Although not all the interview data have statistical support from the questionnaires, almost all the findings gain support from studies of the other groups and literature. As a result, comparisons between the Macanese and the other groups are possible.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION

This analysis is to provide answers to the following three research questions which were introduced in chapter 1:

1. How do the Macanese maintain their group identity?
2. What role, if any, does language play in Macanese identity maintenance?
3. What role, if any, does schooling play in Macanese identity maintenance?

In Chapter 3 we explained how data were collected through interviews and questionnaires to look into the construction of Macanese identity. A grounded theory approach was adopted to analyze the interview data (for details see Chapter 3). It is a method which uses a systematic procedure to develop an inductively-derived grounded theory about a phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This approach was chosen because it is flexible and is more likely to allow for the development and testing of some theories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The statistical analysis was undertaken to complement and supplement the interview data, which are the main source of our understanding of the concepts of identity maintenance, the role of language and the role of schooling. In this chapter we shall attempt to analyze relationships between language education policies of Macau and the identities of the Macanese.

The analysis is in three parts. The first part is the construction of Macanese identity and seeks to answer our first research question. The second one is the role of language in ethnic identity maintenance and focuses on the second research question. The third one is the role of schooling in ethnic identity maintenance, which addresses the third research question.

4.1 The Construction of Macanese Identity

As seen from the interview and questionnaire data, there are characteristics that informants have but do not regard as important features of the group and there are features that they think are indispensable features for group membership, in other words, markers for group membership. This is, according to Barth (1969) (see section 2.1.2.3) the difference between 'content' and 'boundary' and the implication of his distinction is that we should focus on ethnic boundary maintenance and member recruitment rather than the 'content' of ethnicity, as seen in the following quotation:

We can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant... some cultural features are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied (Barth 1969: 14).

There are 'cultural content' and 'boundary markers' in one's identity. The content of culture changes over time. It is the presence of boundary markers which help to maintain a sense of groupness.

The answers from the interviews vary and the features that have been chosen are ancestry, language, value (being proud of their flexibility to change), schooling, religion, culture, birthplace, and social life. Of all these features, some are 'markers' that the group uses to maintain group boundaries and some are 'content'.

4.1.1 Results of the Interviews and Questionnaires.

4.1.1.1. Defining Features for Boundary Maintenance and Member Recruitment

a. Ancestry

Ancestry is a very important criterion found in the interviews as participants unanimously agreed it was an indispensable criterion. This is, according to Stephan and Stephan (1989), 'an objective or biological component' of ethnic identity. This genealogical feature, which is given and unchangeable, has very often been included in the definitions of ethnic identity (Smith, 1991; Edwards 1994, see section 2.1). Three patterns appeared in the interviews. First, a Macanese should be a Portuguese descendant, that is a mixture of Portuguese and other races. Another pattern is that a Macanese should be the descendant of both Portuguese and Chinese. The third one is having a Portuguese surname. The following quotes demonstrate their views.

i. Portuguese descendant

Being a Portuguese descendant is an element for group identity. A Macanese needs to be descendant of mixed parents and either one side should be Portuguese as clearly shown in the following quote:

Interviewer: which criterion is the most important?

Interviewee 6: either the father or the mother is Portuguese descendant.

ii. Chinese descendant

Being Chinese descendant is also considered as important.

Interviewee 8 : biologically, either the father or mother should be Portuguese and the other side is Chinese.

Interviewer: if one side is not Chinese

Interviewee 8 : in that case, they are just mixed, I think Macanese should be the descendants of Portuguese and Chinese parents.

iii. Portuguese surname

A Portuguese surname is also regarded as important.

Interviewee 6: they have to have Portuguese blood, born in Macau and have a Portuguese surname.

Here, it implies that the paternal side is Portuguese as it is not possible to have a Portuguese surname if the mother’s side is Portuguese.

iv. Results from the Questionnaire

Table 4.1: Father’s Ethnicity of the Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Chinese	3	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Portuguese	34	37.8	37.8	41.1
	Macanese	51	56.7	56.7	97.8
	Others	2	2.2	2.2	100
	Total	90	100		
Missing		0			

Table 4.2: Ethnicity of the Respondents’ Mothers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Chinese	47	52.2	52.2	52.2
	Portuguese	15	16.7	16.7	68.9
	Macanese	26	28.9	28.9	97.8
	Others	2	2.2	2.2	100
	Total	90			
Missing		0			

The statistics shown in the above tables do not indicate whether the respondents of the questionnaires regarded ancestry as an important criterion for group membership. However, the figures show that the majority of the respondents were Portuguese descendants. In Table 4.1, among the 90 respondents, 34 of their father were Portuguese and 51 were Macanese, which add up to a total of 94.5 percent of the respondents whose father was either Portuguese and Macanese (Portuguese descendants). 5.5 percent were Chinese and others. In table 4.2, 52.2 percent of their mother’s ethnicity was Chinese, 16.7 percent were Portuguese and 28.9 percent were Macanese. The results of the questionnaire indicate that the

father’s ethnicity was mainly Portuguese and Macanese while the mother’s side as mainly Chinese, and the others were Macanese and a few Portuguese. A few patterns of marriage emerged from the questionnaires:

Table 4.3: The Patterns of the Respondents’ Father and Mother’s Ethnicity

Father	Mother	Percent
Portuguese	Chinese	94.5
Portuguese	Macanese	
Portuguese	Others	
Macanese	Chinese	
Macanese	Macanese	
Macanese	Others	
Macanese	Portuguese	
Chinese	Chinese	5.5
Chinese	Others	

Except the ones who had a Chinese father and mother, the others were all of mixed descent. As 94.5% of the respondents’ fathers were Portuguese or Macanese, most of the participants should have had a Portuguese surname. The statistics of the questionnaires correspond to the interview data in that the Macanese were of mixed Portuguese descendants with a Portuguese surname. The few ones who had a Chinese father and mother could be the ones who had been recruited as group members without any Portuguese blood ties.

Ancestry is an inherited and immutable feature that one cannot acquire; it is in Edward’s words, a ‘given’ criterion. If this is an indispensable criterion which sustain group boundaries, it is not possible for the group members to change group or for non- members to gain entry into the group. This biological factor is in fact a very important part in the definitions of ethnic identity that group members are of common descent. However, in the Macanese case, it seems to show that the biological factor is not important if one has certain criteria which provide the feeling of having a common background. The interview data show that there is another set of criteria for people who are not Portuguese descendants to be recruited as group members. These are, according to Barth (1969), boundary markers of the group. They are as follows:

b. Language

It has been claimed that language is a main factor, which contributes to ethnic identity (Heller, 1988; Edwards, 1994) (see section 2.2). Both Portuguese and Cantonese were chosen as criteria for defining Macanese in the interviews. In this study, language has an intricate role and will be discussed in details in part 2.

i. Portuguese language

Portuguese language was one of the frequently chosen criteria in the interviews as indicated in the following quote:

Interviewee 2: Chinese who grew up together and educated with Macanese and speak a bit of Portuguese can also be regarded as Macanese.

However, there seems to be some flexibility on the language criterion. If one is in Macau, one should know both Portuguese and Cantonese, but this is not a criterion of being Macanese if one is not in Macau.

Interviewee 4: if they are in Macau they should know Chinese and Portuguese, but if they have left Macau, they are also regarded as Macanese even though they don't speak Chinese and Portuguese. It depends on where they are.

The fact that criteria for defining Macanese are not the same for those in Macau and those outside Macau indicates the fluidity and flexibility of the criteria and it also shows that the inclusion of an objective criterion as a boundary marker is related to the social, political or economic factors. People who are not in Macau do not need the languages to be included as group members.

Being able to speak Cantonese was also regarded as important for those in Macau. The following quotation illustrates this point.

Interviewee 6: those who were born here should speak Cantonese because it is a language for communication here so one should know.

For those who are in Macau, Cantonese serves as an inter-group and intra-group communicative purpose. Its status is not the same as Portuguese in boundary maintenance. Cantonese serves as a communicative purpose while Portuguese serves as an ethnic symbolic one. This is what Edwards (1994: 126) (see section 2.2) describes as language having lost its communicative role and yet remaining as a valued symbolic feature of group life.

ii. English

English had a rather complicated role among the group. It is neither a language for communication nor a language for group maintenance but a language of power and economic betterment. For the Macanese, it was a privilege to be able to study English in English private schools as mentioned in the interview.

Interviewee 8 : I'd feel different if I was in those private schools because I admired those Macanese classmates who were able to change to an English private school. They were rich. They could learn English so I thought they were privileged.

This was described in Pina-Cabral and Lourenco's book (1995: 122) :

In order to preserve their middleman position, education is very important. The well-off Macanese would send their children to Portugal to continue their secondary school and the well-reputed and wealthy families would send their children to the States. The others would go to Goa to continue their secondary education.

It is evident from the quotation that the Macanese would send their children abroad to receive Portuguese education if they could afford it. However, the well-reputed and wealthy families would send their children to receive American education, in other words, an English speaking country to learn English instead of Portuguese. Here, it is evident that English does have a higher status than Portuguese within the group.

There could be a few explanations for this. First, it shows that symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1977; West, 1992; Pierce, 1995) related to the three languages. English, as seen by the Macanese, has the most power. The Macanese would feel

privileged if they were able to go to an English school. All the schools in Macau except the Portuguese and Portuguese-Chinese schools are private schools. People needed to pay high tuition fee to study in both English and Chinese schools. The fact that they did not feel privileged to study in a Chinese school show that it was not the tuition fee (which they could afford) that mattered. It was the language, with the association of wealth and power which provided the feeling of being privileged, that was important.

Second, the Macanese were more willing to identify with English and not Chinese, as English is a language by which they could gain a good return on investment. English is associated with power and wealth, so being able to study in an English medium school was regarded as a privilege. For the Macanese, not knowing to read and write Chinese did not seem to be solely a linguistic matter. According to Sachdev and Wright (1996: 244),

adopting an integrative orientation generally implies a weakening of intergroup boundaries and more favourable intergroup attitudes and perception.

The Macanese did not want to weaken the intergroup boundaries with the Chinese, which was the most deprived group at their time. Although adopting an integrative orientation toward English also has the risk of weakening the intergroup boundaries, the power and wealth which are associated with the language are attractive and still enable them to compare favorably with other groups. The economic reason, in this case, seems to be stronger than the ethnic reason.

c. Schooling

Portuguese schools seem to play an important role in Macanese identity as:

Interviewee 12 : 99% of the Macanese went to the Portuguese school at our time.

Besides, people who didn't have any blood ties with Portuguese but received Portuguese education at a very young age were regarded as Macanese.

Interviewee 9 : I would see those who had received a lot of Macanese culture and behave like a Macanese as Macanese. And also those who received Portuguese education at a very young age as Macanese.

As this part needs in-depth analysis, it will be discussed in details in part 3.

d. Social Circle

Having Macanese or Portuguese relatives and friends in their social circle was important for defining the Macanese.

Interviewee 1: Chinese people who had Portuguese education at a very young age, had a Macanese social circle and a Macanese life style, I think they can also be regarded as Macanese.

e. Close to Portuguese Culture

Chinese people who had strong Portuguese influence were also regarded as Macanese.

Interviewee 4 : some Chinese people who had great influence from Portuguese culture or studied at Portuguese school, had a lot of Macanese and Portuguese friends. They are also Macanese.

For them, the ancestral link could be neglected in order to include members into their own group if one had the above criteria. The feeling that people are the same as Macanese was more important. They thought that those who had Portuguese education and were strongly influenced by Portuguese culture were Macanese even they did not have any ancestral link with the Portuguese. It was the feeling of having Portuguese heritage that mattered. This finding supports Ross's (1979) view (see section 2.1.2.3) that it is not important whether people who feel they are in the same group have any historic-genetic basis. It is only the feeling that they can differentiate themselves from other groups that is important. This is, according to Edwards (1994), the psychological dimension of ethnic identity. It does not matter whether members of a group have objective blood relation; it is 'a matter of beliefs' that one belongs. This finding supports Batalha's discussion concerning the Macanese (1994: 133) that

curious is the fact that the *filhos da terra* (sons and daughters of the soil, children of Macau) and the Chinese consider each other as foreigners. Nonetheless, if a genuine Chinese is baptized, has a Portuguese name, has attended our schools, has assimilated our language and culture, he is automatically considered by the Macanese as one of their kind.

The criterion of being baptised was not mentioned in the interviews. However, the findings correspond to the literature, that there is another set of criteria for people who are not of Portuguese descent. In other words, these are the defining markers for boundaries.

This section offers an example that the criteria for defining Macanese are changeable and negotiable. The fluidity and flexibility of the boundaries can be seen as Barth (1969: 14-15) states:

the cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change – yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content.

Barth's model of ethnic identity focuses on the processes of ethnic boundary maintenance and group recruitment rather than the 'content' of ethnicity. Unlike Barth, Cohen sees cultural content as equally important (see section 2.1.2.3). Therefore, it is necessary to look at this aspect of Macanese identity as well in order to get a bigger picture of the issue. The following are the cultural contents that the Macanese had but which were not regarded as markers for group boundaries.

4.1.1.2 The Cultural Content of the Macanese

a. Value

The Macanese seemed to be a group of people who are very flexible and make good use of their advantages. For example :

Interviewee 8 : the Macanese group is a group of opportunists. They make good use of their advantages. They will be more attached to the side which provides more favourable conditions.

This idea was mentioned by only one interviewee and has no statistical support. However, it has been regarded as a positive group feature in literatures (Morbey, 1994: 205; Cabral and Lourenco, 1995: 17)

Ethnic diversity has given the Macanese a great flexibility, which is clearly evident in their capacity to adapt, whether they remain in Macau or integrate into other societies.

We are not like iron bars that can easily be broken. We are more like bamboo stems that can be bent. When a typhoon comes we may be blown down on the ground; yet after the typhoon we will be up and flourish again.

These quotes show that their flexibility to change is recognized and is something to be proud of within the group.

b. Job

One of the reasons for the interviewees learning Portuguese was in order to have a government job, which was regarded as a good job in Macau. Most Macanese worked in the government. Statistics from the questionnaires showed that this was the case.

Table 4.4: Respondent’s Occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid government	74	82.2	91.4	91.4
Non-government	7	7.8	8.6	100
Total	81	90	100	
Missing System	9	10		
Total	90	100		

The results of the questionnaire show that 91.4% of the respondents worked in the government, which supports the interview data that the majority of Macanese worked in the government. Yee (1997: 116) has also mentioned that

a majority of Macanese work for the government and enjoy a higher social status than local Chinese residents.

c. Religion

As indicated in the interviewees' responses, nearly 100% of the Macanese were Catholics. It can be seen in the following quotes:

Interviewee 8: the majority of us are Catholics, there are a few with no religion, and I don't have any friends who are Buddhist.

Interviewee 5: we are all Catholics because Portugal is a Catholic country. Children are baptized after birth; it is possible that one may be interested in another religion after they've grown up.

This corresponds to what Zepp's (1991: 160) view that 'nearly 100 per cent of the Macanese embrace Catholicism.' This important group feature found in the interviews supports Yee's (1997: 119) comment:

Common Portuguese blood, language, and culture and Catholic religion has long served as powerful integrative forces that held the Macanese community together.

d. Culture

The Macanese culture is a distinctive culture. A lot of things are different from those in Portugal as seen in the following quote:

Interviewer : what is Macanese culture?

Interviewee 12 : we don't have any, we only have food culture. Portuguese people are famous for reproduction. Wherever they stayed, they would reproduce the next generation, therefore it's very mixed – Malaysia, India, China which has brought together a lot of different cultures. It is a very mixed culture. The Chinese mix English words in their conversation, the Macanese did that a long time ago. The food culture is quite special. All the Macanese make the same food. Religion is important . We go to midnight Mass to thank God, we follow Chinese customs – lunch on the second day of Chinese New Year, eat dumpling at Dragon Boat Festival, have mooncake at mid-autumn festival and all the things that the Chinese eat in Chinese New Year.'

The quotation indicates that there were some contradictions in the interviewee's opinion that Macanese culture had no uniqueness. Although the response here

said the Macanese have no culture, what the respondent said actually included a few cultural elements such as food customs, language and attendance at religious ceremonies. These are important elements, which have been confirmed in other empirical works (Cohen, 1974; van den Berghe and Primov, 1974; De Vos, 1975) to be important in the formation of ethnic identity. Further, it is clearly shown in the above quotation that the Portuguese are famous at reproducing the next generation. In other words, the Macanese culture is not just a mixture of cultures and they have their own culture, a distinctive culture in which Chinese and Portuguese elements are found as illustrated in the following quotation that almost all the Macanese are Catholics but they also believe in Chinese fortune telling:

Interviewer: is there Macanese culture?

Interviewee 2: yes, we celebrate Chinese festivals and we burn paper stuffs in Ghost Festival. We are all Catholics but we believe in Chinese fortune telling, so we are a mixed culture.

That there are other elements such as food and the way of speaking seem to be special elements to show the distinctiveness of the Macanese culture is shown in the following quotation:

Interviewee 9: in our culture, food is the most special such as Tacho and the way we speak is different- we mix codes all the time.

e. Birth Place

The place of birth was also seen as a feature of the group in the interviews.

Interviewee1: I was not born in Macau but I think I am a Macanese because I grew up in Macau.

As seen in the quote, it seems that being born in Macau was regarded as a group characteristic although the interviewee thinks that growing up in Macau should also be a defining feature.

The features in this section are the group content of the Macanese which are different from the markers of group boundary in the previous section.

4.1.2 Results of the Questionnaire

In part one of the questionnaire, 25 statements which were intended to find out the construction of Macanese identity were given in a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1= very similar to 4 = very different. This is one set of the data, apart from the literature and similar empirical studies, to supplement the interview data. The data were divided into two groups – similar (1 and 2 in the scale) and different (3 and 4 in the scale). The mode was calculated with two groups. Any cumulative percent in group one of 50 or more indicated an inclination towards similarity with the statements, while a cumulative percent of 50 or more in group two indicated an inclination towards difference. Mann-Whitney tests and Kruskal-Wallis tests were conducted to find if there were any statistically significant differences according to different ages, gender, education and income in defining group features. Any significance value smaller than 0.05 indicates a statistically significant difference. The modal scores of the different aspects which construct Macanese ethnic identity are shown in table 4.5.

Table 4.5: The Percent of Modal Score of the Different Aspects which Construct Ethnic Identity

		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1. people who are religious	1- very similar	19	23.2	23.2
	2- similar	41	50	73.2
	3- different	17	20.7	93.9
	4- very different	5	6.1	100
2. people who behave in ways that are obviously foreign anywhere else	1- very similar	5	6.2	6.2
	2- similar	22	27.2	33.3
	3- different	38	46.9	80.2
	4- very different	16	19.8	100
3. people who are proud of their own ethnicity	1- very similar	12	15	15
	2- similar	31	38.8	53.8
	3- different	22	27.5	81.3
	4- very different	15	18.8	100
4. people who have a conflict over which country they really belong from	1- very similar	9	11.3	11.3
	2- similar	18	22.5	33.8
	3- different	32	40	73.8
	4- very different	21	26.3	100
5. people who think differently from most Chinese	1- very similar	5	6.3	6.3
	2- similar	32	40	46.3
	3- different	28	35	81.3
	4- very different	15	18.8	100

6. people who make it clear that they are not Chinese	1- very similar	11	13.8	13.8
	2- similar	22	27.5	41.3
	3- different	32	40	81.3
	4- very different	15	18.8	100
7. people who have to act differently at home	1- very similar	4	5.1	5.1
	2- similar	26	33.3	38.5
	3- different	29	37.2	75.6
	4- very different	19	24.4	100
8 people who feel good about their cultural background	1- very similar	13	16.9	16.9
	2- similar	46	59.7	76.6
	3- different	15	19.5	96.1
	4- very different	3	3.9	100
9. people whose names remind them that they are different from other Chinese people	1- very similar	11	14.5	14.5
	2- similar	21	27.6	42.1
	3- different	34	44.7	86.8
	4- very different	10	13.2	100
10. people who don't care about the country in which their parents were born	1- very similar	12	15.4	15.4
	2- similar	36	46.2	61.5
	3- different	22	28.2	89.7
	4- very different	8	10.3	100
11. people who prefer eating Chinese food	1- very similar	16	20.3	20.3
	2- similar	38	48.1	68.4
	3- different	18	22.8	91.1
	4- very different	7	8.9	100
12 people from other countries who don't fit in well	1- very similar	1	1.3	1.3
	2- similar	10	13	14.3
	3- different	39	50.6	64.9
	4- very different	27	35.1	100
13. people who read foreign language newspaper	1- very similar	7	9	9
	2- similar	31	39.7	48.7
	3- different	28	35.9	84.6
	4- very different	12	15.4	100
14. people who feel they look different from Chinese people	1- very similar	3	3.8	3.8
	2- similar	28	35.9	39.7
	3- different	32	41	80.8
	4- very different	15	19.2	100
15. people who carry on the ways of their parent's home country	1- very similar	8	10.4	10.4
	2- similar	35	45.5	55.8
	3- different	29	37.7	93.5
	4- very different	5	6.5	100
16. people who stick together with those of their own nationality	1- very similar	7	9.1	9.1
	2- similar	14	18.2	27.3
	3- different	33	42.9	70.1
	4- very different	23	29.9	100
17. people who feel themselves to be a mixture of Chinese and another culture	1- very similar	8	10.4	10.4
	2- similar	28	36.4	46.8
	3- different	24	31.2	77.9
	4- very different	17	22.1	100
18. people who prefer eating Macanese food	1- very similar	10	13	13
	2- similar	37	48.1	61
	3- different	25	32.5	93.5
	4- very different	5	6.5	100
19. people who speak more than	1- very similar	15	19.7	19.7

one language fluently background	2- similar	34	44.7	64.5
	3- different	17	22.4	86.8
	4- very different	10	13.2	100
20. people who would only marry someone from their own cultural background	1- very similar	4	5.3	5.3
	2- similar	16	21.3	26.7
	3- different	26	34.7	61.3
	4- very different	29	38.7	100
21. people who think of themselves as definitely Macau citizen	1- very similar	12	15.4	15.4
	2- similar	33	42.3	57.7
	3- different	18	23.1	80.8
	4- very different	15	19.2	100
22. people from other countries who try to hide their	1- very similar	2	2.6	2.6
	2- similar	5	6.4	9
	3- different	40	51.3	60.3
	4- very different	31	39.7	100
23 people who don't have much to do with Chinese	1- very similar	4	5.1	5.1
	2- similar	13	16.7	21.8
	3- different	37	47.4	69.2
	4- very different	24	30.8	100
24. people who give up for good the country they were born in	1- very similar	5	6.6	6.6
	2- similar	11	14.5	21.1
	3- different	28	36.8	57.9
	4- very different	32	42.1	100
25. people who get on well with every body	1- very similar	27	35.1	35.1
	2- similar	32	41.6	76.6
	3- different	12	15.6	92.2
	4- very different	6	7.8	100

The cumulative percent of modal scores of the 25 items show that there are ten features with which the respondents found themselves agreeing. They are listed in table 4.6 ranging from the highest, and therefore the strongest agreement to the lowest.

Table 4.6: The Features which Were Chosen as Group Characteristics

	Cumulative percent of group one (1+2)
25. people who get on well with every body	76.6
8 people who feel good about their cultural background	76.6
1. people who are religious	73.2
11. people who prefer eating Chinese food	68.4
19. people who speak more than one language fluently	64.5
10. people who don't care about the country in which their parents were born	61.5
18. people who prefer eating Macanese food	61
21. people who think of themselves as definitely Macau citizen	57.7
15. people who carry on the ways of their parents' home country	55.8
3. people who are proud of their own ethnicity	53.8

As shown in Table 4.6, the participants tended to agree with the following group features: being unprejudiced, being religious, feeling good about their own culture, preferring to eat both Chinese and Macanese food, speaking more than one language, not caring about parents' birthplace, having a home tradition, being assimilated, and having pride. Some of them correspond with the interview data while some of them do not.

Religion (item 1) is one of the examples. In the interviews (see section 4.1.1.2c above), the interviewees mentioned that nearly 100% of the Macanese were Catholics and the data in the questionnaire show that they are religious. The data parallel each other, showing that religion is one of the group features.

Another similarity is language. As mentioned in the previous section 4.1.1.1b, language is one of the defining markers of the group, and the statistics seem to correspond to the interviews.

Apart from these, retaining home tradition and food are other aspects which have been mentioned in the interviews (4.1.1.2d) as also marking their identity. The other aspects such as being unprejudiced, not caring about parents' birthplace, being assimilated and having pride were not mentioned in the interviews. The statistics give credence to the features of food, language, religion and home traditions. The other aspects, which were not mentioned in the interviews, illustrate that there are some features that they have but which were not consciously or subjectively regarded as markers that formed group membership. As mentioned in section 3.2.7, the questionnaire was developed before the interviews, so the way in which the interviews and questionnaires are related is not as satisfactory as it might be because the results from the questionnaire cannot be as closely tied to the interviews as would otherwise have been the case.

The Kruskal-Wallis test was run to find out if age, education and income would have any effect on their perception of group characteristics. The Mann-Whitney

test was run for the independent variable of sex. The results of the statistics are shown in the following table:

Table 4.7: The Significance Level between the Features of the Group and Different Variables.

	Kruskal-Wallis Test (age)	Kruskal-Wallis Test (income)	Kruskal-Wallis Test (education)	Mann-Whitney test (gender)
1. people who are religious	.392	.368	.584	.17
2. people who behave in ways that are obviously foreign	.437	.302	.387	.243
3. people who are proud of their own ethnicity	.568	.384	.286	.940
4. people who have a conflict over which country they really belong to	.475	.785	.494	.774
5. people who think differently from most Chinese	.171	.749	.269	.147
6. people who make it clear that they are not Chinese	.84	.556	.05	.330
7. people who have to act differently at home from anywhere else	.182	.330	.276	.785
8 people who feel good about their cultural background	.417	.729	.306	.233
9. people whose names remind them that they are different from other Chinese people	.377	.368	.435	.043
10. people who don't care about the country in which their parents were born	.402	.666	.377	.336
11. people who prefer eating Chinese food	.035	.511	.645	.702
12 people from other countries who don't fit in well	.351	.365	.054	.823
13. people who read foreign language newspaper	.495	.019	.024	.982
14. people who feel they look different from Chinese people	.255	.497	.488	.963
15. people who carry on the ways of their parent's home country	.833	.625	.709	.17
16. people who stick together with those of their own nationality	.067	.788	.566	.295
17. people who feel themselves to be a mixture of Chinese and another culture	.605	.39	.231	.650
18. people who prefer eating	.798	.842	.671	.248

Macanese food				
19. people who speak more than one language fluently	.220	.434	.299	.012
20. people who would only marry someone from their own cultural background	.641	.615	.637	.299
21. people who think of themselves as definitely Macau citizen	.012	.239	.558	.995
22. people from other countries who try to hide their background	.682	.288	.882	.723
23. people who don't have much to do with Chinese	.528	.526	.521	1.00
24. people who give up for good the country they were born in	.217	.586	.705	.986
25. people who get on well with every body	.196	.124	.077	.111

As the results clearly show, age does not seem to be a strong factor which affects the respondents' perception of the 25 group characteristics; only item 11 (people who prefer eating Chinese food) and item 21 (people who think of themselves as definitely Macau citizen) are significant at the 0.05 level. As for income, only item 13 (people who read foreign language newspaper) is significantly different. As for gender, only item 9 (people whose names remind them that they are different from other Chinese people) and 19 (people who speak more than one language fluently) show statistically significant difference. The values by gender, income, age and education reveal that these variables do not seem to have any influence on their perceptions of group characteristics, i.e. the frequency results are consistent, very largely irrespective of nominal characteristics of the sample.

The overall picture which emerges, therefore, is that the different variables (gender, age, education, income) do not seem to have any influence on the perception of group characteristics as only one or 2 items in each variable category (i.e. 8%) indicate statistically significant difference, i.e. the group's views demonstrated strong internal consistency and homogeneity

4.1.3 Defining Criteria are Different in Different Generations

In this study, the interviews showed that some markers which were regarded as important in the past were not important any more. Although there was nothing in the statistical data to indicate significance difference between generations, it has been stated in the literature that there is a difference, as shown in the following quote (Marreiros, 1994: 171):

The 'New Macanese' obviously have more modern characteristics, some inherited and others recently assimilated or readapted, primarily by following the example of the Portuguese and the Chinese.

Besides, the generations shown in the interviews were of parents' or grandparents' generations, which would be about 30 or more years of difference. The parents or grandparents that the interviewees mentioned should be over 60 or even older. However, we do not have respondents to the questionnaire who belonged to this age group. Therefore, the statistical data can only show that there are no age differences in the younger generations but not the ones showing in the interviews.

a. Physical appearance as an important criterion in the past

As mentioned in interview 4, the Macanese did not have much contact with the Chinese in the past, so the respondent's father's generation used different criteria for defining Macanese, one of which was that the physical appearance is no longer regarded as an important marker.

Interviewee 4 : my father's generation did not have contact with the Chinese. The Chinese and the Macanese did not like each other. This kind of thing was obvious in the previous generation. Be a Portuguese descendant, had a Portuguese name and physical features were very important.

In the previous generation, ancestry, name and physical features were important markers. These are the objective aspects of ethnicity as suggested by Edward (1984: 126): 'we can consider definitions of ethnicity which include objective characteristics (linguistic, racial, geographical, religious, ancestral etc.).

The cumulative percent for this item in the questionnaire (item 14 part 1, Table 4.5) is 39.7 in the questionnaire, which indicate that they don't feel that physical features are a group defining characteristics any more. The result corresponds with the interview.

b. Endogamy Existed in the Previous Generation

Interviewee 3: 'in my father's generation, they had to speak Portuguese, be Catholic and were only allow to marry Portuguese and Macanese.'

This has also been mentioned by Marreiros (1994: 169):

in the past, 'true Macanese' married among themselves, which maintained the anthropo-genetic inheritance of characteristics that tended to be more Caucasian.

Endogamy does not exist any more as most of the interviewees married a Chinese wife or a Chinese husband. So it is not regarded as a criterion now. The cumulative percent for this item is 26.7 (table 4.5), which indicates that they are very different from those who marry someone from their own cultural background, which is in line with the interview data.

The previous generation married among themselves in order to maintain the physical appearance of the Macanese, but it is no longer true now.

c. The importance of Portuguese language used as an ethnically-identifying criterion is different in different generations

The Portuguese language was seen as an ethnic marker, as shown in the interviews; however, all the respondents agreed that this language was regarded as more important in the previous generations and not as important among their children.

Interviewee 2 : now children do not have the differences. They don't differentiate themselves from the other group. They are now studying in Chinese or English school. They don't get the chance to speak Portuguese.

Here not having the chance to speak Portuguese is associated with not differentiating themselves from other groups, which illustrates that Portuguese is still an important marker for the group.

Differences can be seen even in the same generation, as seen in interview 8:

For example, my elder sister and elder brother spoke Portuguese at home even after they had a lot of contact with the Chinese and learnt the language, they were still not allowed to speak Cantonese at home. I am 10 years younger than my brother and sister, my father did not insist that I should speak Portuguese at home.

A Portuguese-speaking environment was created for the children, which indicated the importance of the Portuguese language within the group. The interview showed signs of change in attitude towards Portuguese that were different within the same generation, with a 10-year difference between siblings, and this reinforces Yee's (1997: 122) comment:

For young Macanese who cannot or do not plan to leave the territory, basic education in Portuguese is a disadvantage, as it means they are illiterate in Chinese. In any case, Portuguese is not an attractive language for young people brought up in a world where the prevailing cultural references are provided by Hong Kong television channels in Cantonese. Consequently, they have resisted efforts made by their parents and teachers to involve them in a Portuguese speaking culture.

It indicates that the features of constructing group boundaries are changing. What emerged from the interview clearly shows the significance of 'Portugueseness' in the construction of Macanese identity. Portuguese blood ties (section 4.1.1a), Portuguese language (4.1.1.1b), Portuguese education (4.1.1.1c), Portuguese culture (4.1.1.2d) are all regarded as markers for group boundaries. This 'Portugueseness' is especially obvious in letting people who do not have any genetic-biological ties with Portuguese in the group. If people are not Portuguese descendants, they should speak Portuguese, have Portuguese education, be in Portuguese social circles and be close to Portuguese culture. This finding corresponds to the assimilationist and pluralist position that mixed-heritage individuals are most likely to identify with a single-ethnic group (Gordon, 1964;

Greeley, 1971). In the Macanese case, they chose to identify with the Portuguese side.

4.1.4 Minority Status

Ethnic identity is one kind of group membership which is particularly important in studying minority groups, and studies of ethnic identity are very often studies of minority groups (see section 2.1.2.5). It is also the case in this study. Results from the interviews and questionnaires show that the Macanese group regarded themselves as a minority.

The results from the interviews demonstrated that it was the Portuguese who were in political control before the handover. Some participants in the interviews thought that the Portuguese were in the top position, the Macanese were in the middle and the Chinese were in the bottom position. Some participants thought that the Macanese and the Chinese were in the same deprived position. After the handover, participants said the Macanese were in the middle and the Portuguese were at the bottom. Some thought that the Macanese had gone down to the bottom and some thought that the Macanese and the Portuguese were at the same level. It is clear from the results that all the participants thought that the Portuguese were in control politically before the handover while the Chinese were in control after the handover. The only difference was the position of the Chinese and the Macanese.

The participants thought that they had never been in a position to be equal to the Portuguese or the Chinese to influence government policy before or after the handover. Before the handover, they were under the Portuguese politically and were in a middle position. Although they were not able to have political power, they were not the most deprived group. The Chinese were the most deprived group. The others thought that both the Macanese and the Chinese were subordinate groups. After the handover, they had been under the Chinese and were also in a middle position. Some thought that they were less important than

before. Economically, all the interviewees said that not much had changed before and after the handover, as the economy had always been controlled by the Chinese.

The results of the questionnaire correspond to the interview data. In part 2 of the questionnaire, 25 questions (see Appendix III) were given a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = (none at all, not at all) to 7 = (extremely highly, very much, extremely highly, exclusively, complete, extremely). The Friedman Test was used to ascertain whether there was any statistically significant difference between the scores. The mean rank of the Chinese group was much higher than that of the Macanese group as seen in table 4.8 and the significant value is 0.000 (table 4.9), revealing that the Chinese were seen as the most highly regarded group in Macau.

Table 4.8: How Highly Regarded are the Following Groups in Macau (questionnaire - part 2 Q.6)?

	Mean Rank
How highly regarded are the following groups in Macau (Chinese)?	2.69
How highly regarded are the following groups in Macau (Macanese)?	1.92
How highly regarded are the following group in Macau (Portuguese)?	1.39

Table 4.9: The Significant Values of the Scores.

Test Statistics^a

N	80
Chi-Square	87.044
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Friedman Test

Table 4.10: How much Political Power do the Following Groups have in Macau (questionnaire - part2 Q.10)?

	Mean Rank
How much political power do the following groups have in Macau(Chinese)?	2.74
How much political power do the following groups have in Macau(Macanese)?	1.77
How much political power do the following groups have in Macau(Portuguese)?	1.48

Table 4.11: The Significant Values of the Scores

Test Statistics ^a	
N	82
Chi-Square	87.604
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Friedman Test

The significant value in table 4.11 shows that there is a statistically significant difference between the three sets of scores. The great difference in mean rank in tables 4.9 and 4.11 shows that the Chinese group was the most highly regarded group and had the most political power compared to the other two groups, which correspond to the interview data suggest that the Macanaese were a deprived group. As for social status (table 4.8), the Macanese had a higher mean rank than the Portuguese. For political power, the Macanese had a slightly higher mean rank than the Portuguese.

Table 4.12: How much Control do the Following Groups Have over Economic and Business Matters in Macau (part2Q.4)?

	Mean Rank
How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Macau(Chinese)?	1.88
How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Macau (Macanese)?	1.12

Table 4.13: The Significant Values of the Scores

Test Statistics ^a	
N	82
Chi-Square	55.901
df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. Friedman Test

Economically, the Chinese were perceived as having a lot more control than the Macanese. The significant value (see table 4.13) shows that there is a statistically significant difference between the Chinese and the Macanese group. The results are in line with the interview data.

The Macanese have been living in Macau for a few hundred years, but they think that they have never had political or economic control over the place. Politically, they were under the Portuguese before the handover and are under the Chinese after the handover. Economically, they have always been under the Chinese group. As Keefe (1992) mentions, one aspect of ethnic identity is the perception of prejudice and discrimination against one’s own ethnic group. Phinney (1996) also states that one dimension of ethnicity is the experiences associated with minority status which is to try to gain equal status with the dominant group, to gain acceptance and recognition. In this kind of intergroup relation, the subordinate group experiences discriminatory treatment and is deprived of the rights to have equal status with the dominant group. In this sense, the Macanese group can be regarded as a minority group since they perceived themselves as not having equal status with the other groups politically and economically. Therefore, Macanese group identity can be seen as minority group identity in this study.

4.1.5 Changes in Construction of Group Boundaries

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978b) shows that members of a group will adopt certain strategies in order to change their unfavourable condition (see section 2.1.2.7). Individuals may (Tajfel, 1974: 64)

change one's interpretations of the attributes of the group so that is unwelcome features (e.g. low status) are either justified or made acceptable through a reinterpretation,

In this study, the results have shown that the political change has made the Macanese think that their situation has become unfavourable. According to the theory, the Macanese would adopt some strategies to change the unfavourable situation. As mentioned in section 4.1.4, 'Portugueseness' is a very important element in the construction of Macanese identity. A change of group characteristics would mean a change of its 'Portugueseness'. Several characteristics of 'Portugueseness', such as language, schooling, physical appearance and marriage seem to have been chosen to change in order to enhance self-image.

A few decades before the handover, the government was still under Portuguese administration and the Portuguese language was, no doubt, the most important language in Macau. It was also a very important ethnic marker of the Macanese group (as shown in section 4.1.3c). Macanese all sent their children to Portuguese schools (see section 4.1.1d) because a good command of Portuguese would guarantee a good future. To get a good job in the government or be a successful professional in Macau, one had to know Portuguese. Portuguese at that time was one of the strategies for the Macanese to compare favourably with the other groups.

With the change of political power, Chinese has become the most important language in Macau. Macanese parents began to send their children to study Chinese a few years before the handover. Portuguese has become less important than before, as seen by the Macanese. In the past, Macanese married among themselves in order to maintain their Caucasian background (see 4.1.3b), but this is no longer as common as it used to be among the group. As Tajfel (1981) argues, members of a group may choose to change group membership in order to enhance their self-image and if changing group is not possible, individuals may

choose to change their interpretations of the characteristics of their in-group boundaries. If the boundaries are determined by inherited factors, it is difficult for the in-group members to leave the group. Therefore, they have to change their interpretation of group characteristics. In the Macanese case, there seems to have a change in the interpretations of group characteristics.

Being a Macanese, one has mixed heritage – both Portuguese and Chinese. It is easy for them to make the better use of their half identity. As we can see from the interviews, there are Portuguese-prone (Macanese who are close to Portuguese and behave like Portuguese Macanese) and Chinese-prone Macanese (Macanese who are close to Chinese and behave like Chinese).

Interviewee 1 : Within the Macanese group.....some have more Portuguese influence, on the contrary some have more Chinese influence. There are both.

Individuals can shift their identity from being Portuguese prone to being Chinese prone. This is a uniqueness of the group.

Interviewee 2: 20 years ago, I was Macanese. But now, I've become more Chinese, the Macanese culture or thing still exist, I am different from 20 years ago, I belong to the older generation Macanese, I want to preserve Macanese culture.

This partially fits into Barth's argument that ethnicity can be negotiable and individual may change their ethnicity under the right circumstances (see section 2.1.2.7). It is true in the Macanese case that ethnicity is negotiable and they can change their identity under the right circumstances but they can change group without a change of their ethnicity.

In Collin's (2000: 239-240) study of biracial identity development in Japanese-Americans, the participants were sometimes American and Japanese according to situation.

The participants maximised half their identity and used it to their advantage, thus making their identity fluid and flexible. They were able to easily move between two monoracial groups simultaneously if necessary.

In the Macanese case, they are just Chinese-prone or Portuguese-prone Macanese; no matter with which one they identify, they are Macanese. The results of the Macanese case demonstrate the fluidity of ethnic identity.

4.1.6 Summary

It is clear in the Macanese case that there are both objective characteristics and subjective feelings in defining group boundaries. The genealogical factor seems to be the most important one for defining the group, which is often an important component of definition of ethnic identity. However, there seems to be a different set of criteria for people who do not have this biological feature. The results show that the feeling of 'Portugueseness' is as equally important as blood ties. If one has strong Portuguese influence, Portuguese education and speak Portuguese, one can also be regarded as a Macanese.

Their attitude towards English seems to illustrate that Macanese who had very high social status and were wealthy chose English-medium education for their children, which may provide an explanation for the high status of English in the group. The superior status of English in the group might be that the power and economic value that is associated with English itself outweighs the ethnic factor. The other one could be that members of the group want to identify with the cream of the group because people who are cultivated, wealthy and have high social status in the group choose English medium education. The first explanation does not carry any ethnic associations while the second one has ethnic reasons.

Macanese perceive themselves as a minority group. The results show that there are signs of change in the construction of group boundaries. The Macanese group provides an example of the flexibility and fluidity of group boundaries as they have different sets of criteria to define Macanese. Further, the Macanese also provide an example to show that change of group allegiance is possible without a

change of ethnicity, as the uniqueness of being descendants of Portuguese and Chinese enable the Macanese to make good use of their half identity. As a result, the Macanese can shift from being Portuguese-prone Macanese to being Chinese-prone Macanese without a change of ethnicity. This is the 'passing' from half of their identity to another half without changing their ethnic identity. Here, 'passing' is used in a way which is different from Barth's (1969: 33) idea of 'passing' in which one passes from one group to another.

In their pursuit of participation in wider social systems to obtain new forms of value they can choose between the following basic strategies: they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group.

The Macanese case provides an example to show shifting allegiance from one majority to another within the boundaries. This is perhaps what Marreiros (1994: 169) says is the difference between 'True Macanese' and 'New Macanese':

True Macanese generally spoke Portuguese correctly and English very well. They also spoke Guangdongnese but not brilliantly, much less eruditely. Their language was Patoá (sweet language of Macau). Today, the "new Macanese" speak Portuguese poorly, do not know a word of Patoá, have a good command of English and Chinese (Guangdongese) and usually know how to write Chinese, something that was unheard of fifteen years ago.

4.2 The Role of Language in Ethnic Identity Maintenance

As mentioned in section 4.1, language is one of the markers for Macanese group boundaries. The intricate role of language will be discussed in detail in this section.

4.2.1 Results from the Interviews and Questionnaires

4.2.1.1 Portuguese Is their First Language

The interview results show that the Macanese have a very clear attitude towards their first language. All the participants think that Portuguese is their mother

tongue. Cantonese, a language that they speak very fluently, is not considered as mother tongue. Portuguese language seems to play an important role for group membership in this group. Statistics show that it is the language that 95.6% of the respondents of the questionnaire speak.

Table 4.14: Percentage of Respondents Speaking Portuguese

What language(s) do you speak (Portuguese)?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no	4	4.4	4.4	4.4
Yes	86	95.6	95.6	100
Total	90	100	100	

As Hoffmann (1991: 202) states, language has two functions in group categorization: it provides the means to maintain the group’s feeling of unity and it helps to set the group apart from others. Portuguese serves these two purposes in the group. The previous generations (the parents of the interviewees) saw Portuguese language as very important in maintaining group identity; they sent their children to receive Portuguese education in which one could acquire Portuguese language and be in a Portuguese speaking environment. The interviewees did not send their children to Portuguese school any more, although they still considered Portuguese to be their native language. In doing so, their children may have had the risk of losing the native language. Here, there are signs of Portuguese moving towards a symbolic status (Gans, 1991: 403). That is, it does not matter how little they know about Portuguese or how well they know about Cantonese, they still think Portuguese is a very important feature of the group. This supports Edwards’ (1994: 126) view that

we might consider that the decline of an original group language may represent a change in cultural content – the loss of that language as a regular communicative instrument, and the adoption of another. But, to the extent to which language remain as a valued symbolic feature of group life, it may yet contribute to the maintenance of boundaries (.....) (Language)



having lost its communicative role, retains a sentimental and emotional grip on the group.

4.2.1.2 Cantonese Is the Most Frequently Used Language

Cantonese is the language that the Macanese use more often than their first language. It is necessary to clarify what Cantonese is before going to the analysis. Cantonese is a variety of spoken Chinese which is the language of southern China (Hong Kong, Macau, Guangzhou). Putonghua is the standard spoken Chinese in China, which is a language not very commonly used in Hong Kong and Macau. People in Hong Kong and Macau did not learn Putonghua at school although they are beginning to do so now as a consequence of post-1997 and post-1999 policies.

The interview data show that the Macanese use more Cantonese than Portuguese in different situations.

Interviewer : what language (s) do you use at home?

Interviewee 2 : Cantonese

Interviewer : how about Portuguese

Interviewee 2 : not very often

Interviewer : what language(s) do you use when you talk to your brothers and sisters?

Interviewee 3 : Cantonese and Portuguese but we speak Cantonese more.

The results of the interview are summarized in the following table.

Table 4.15: The Language Used in Different Situations from the Interviews.

(P = Portuguese; C = Cantonese; E = English).

	At home	Parents	siblings	Aunts & uncles	grandparents	Church	Social gathering, friends	Work
1	C,P,E	C,P	C,P			P		C,P
2	C	C	C	C,P		P,C	C,P,E	C,P
3	C	P	C,P		P,C	P	P,C	C
4	C	C	C	C	C	P	C	C
5	C,P	C,P	C	C,P		C,P	C	C
6	C	C	C	C	C	P	C,P	C,P
7	C,P	C		C,P	C	P	C	C
8	C	C,P	C,P	P		P	C,P,E	C,P

9	C,P,E	C,P	C,P,E	C,P,E		C,P,E	C,P,E	P,C
10	P,C	C	C,P	P	P	P	C,P	C,P
11	C,P	C,P	C,P,E	P		P,C	C,P	
12	C,P,E	C,P,E	C,P,E			P	C,P,E	C,P,E

This table shows the languages that the 12 participants used with different people in different situations from the interviews. Cantonese seems to be a more useful language than Portuguese as they need Cantonese most of the time. As seen from the table, Cantonese is used more often than Portuguese. There are a few occasions that they use only Portuguese (interviewee 3: when speaking to parents, interviewee 8, 2 and 11: when speaking to aunts and uncles, interviewee 10: when talking to grandparents, interviewees 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10: in church). It seems that Portuguese is used most often in church. Portuguese may still be the language for communication with the older generations (parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents). Cantonese is a dominant language at home, work, social gatherings, to brothers and sisters, and with older generations in some cases.

English was also used in all the occasions by some of the interviewees (interviewee 1, 9, 12 – at home, interviewee 12 – with parents, interviewees 9, 11, 12 – with siblings, interviewee 9 – with aunts and uncles, interviewee 9 – in church, interviewees 2, 8, 9, 12 – with friends, interviewee 12 – at work). Its use was not as much as Cantonese or Portuguese. It is clear that Cantonese had become a strong language among the group and there were signs of shifting to Cantonese. The use of the Portuguese language was not as much as before among the group. It is often argued that ethnic language is always regarded as an important marker for identity maintenance. If this is true, ethnic identity maintenance will become difficult for the Macanese. However, as mentioned in section 4.2.1.1, language, having lost its communicative purpose, can still serve as a marker of the group. This is what Gans (1991: 430) refers to as ‘ethnic symbols’, which construct ‘an ethnicity of last resort’ and could ‘persist for generations’.

4.2.1.3 Chinese Has Become a More Important Language than Portuguese

The results from the interviews indicated that Chinese, by which the participants mean the written language, has become a more important language than Portuguese since the handover. Although it has become more important, some interviewees thought the government could not just use Chinese at the time as not all people working in the government (by which they mean the Macanese) had enough Chinese proficiency to handle the work.

Interview 5: at the moment, we cannot only use Chinese because there are still some people who do not know Chinese.
Interviewee 11: Portuguese should also be important temporary because there are still some Macanese who do not understand Chinese.

Although both Chinese and Portuguese are regarded as the official languages, some interviewees thought that only Chinese should be used in the government.

Interviewer : which language(s) should be used in the government?
Interview 11 : should be Chinese and Putonghua after the handover.

The results of the questionnaire seem to support the interview data. A Likert scale ranging from 1 to 7 was adopted to measure the status and frequency of use of different main languages in Macau (see Appendix III, questions 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 11, 14 shown below are about the language aspects in part 2 of the questionnaire). The mean score of each language was calculated and compared. The mean ranks in table 4.16 seem to show that they are different; however, we cannot determine whether the difference between them is a real difference. The Friedman test was run to see if there were any statistically significant difference between the scores.

Table 4.16: The Vitality of Chinese, English and Portuguese in Macau (Questionnaire – part II).

Question		Mean Rank	Sig.
1.How highly regarded are the following languages in Macau?	Chinese	2.63	.000
	English	1.72	
	Portuguese	1.65	

2. How highly regarded are the following languages internationally?	Chinese	1.86	.000
	Portuguese	1.49	
	English	2.65	
3. How often are the following languages used in Macau government services?	Chinese	2.71	.000
	Portuguese	2.11	
	English	1.19	
5. How well-represented are the following languages in the Macau mass media?	Chinese	2.71	.000
	Portuguese	1.79	
	English	1.50	
8. How much are the following languages taught in Macau schools?	Chinese	2.72	.000
	English	1.95	
	Portuguese	1.33	
11. How well-represented are the following languages in Macau business institutions?	Chinese	2.70	.000
	English	1.96	
	Portuguese	1.34	
14. How frequently are the following languages used in Macau churches and places of religious worship?	Chinese	2.54	.000
	English	1.31	
	Portuguese	2.15	

The significance values for these questions indicate that the mean rank scores are all significantly different from each other. The mean ranks of each question from the questionnaire (table 4.16) show that Chinese has become the most frequently used language in aspects such as government, mass media, school, business, churches and religious worship. English had a higher mean rank than Portuguese in the aspects of schools and business (see table 4.16, question 8 and 11), which shows that the status of English was considered to be higher than that of Portuguese. Portuguese is more frequently used than English in the aspects such as government, mass media and church. In terms of status, Chinese was considered to be the highest in Macau, but English was regarded as the highest internationally. Chinese, according to the statistics, is no doubt the language which is the most well-represented and has the highest status in Macau as shown in question one, while English has the highest status outside Macau, as seen in question two, in which English received a much higher score than Chinese and Portuguese.

4.2.1.4 Ethnic Language Is Not a Consideration in Choosing School for their Children

All the interviewees thought that Portuguese was their first language but this ethnic language was not a factor to be considered for most of them when they chose schools for their children. The interview participants did so for a number of reasons. Practical issues such as further studies and job prospects were raised:

Interviewee 8: because I want to send my children abroad to study and English is very useful for their job in the future.

The wish to have full participation in the dominant society constituted another reason.

Interviewee 6: everything is in Chinese, it is better to learn Chinese. English is necessary if they want to continue their studies. Portuguese is not a must. They can learn it if they are interested in the future.

The last reason is the nature of the language itself.

Interviewee 12: as Chinese is a difficult language, it is better to learn it at a young age.

The results from the interviews show that the reasons behind their choice of languages for their children seemed to be mostly instrumental and there does not seem to be any ethnic consideration. None of the participants learnt Chinese when they were young but now they had sent their children to learn this language. If learning Portuguese during their time was solely an ethnic consideration, they should have sent their children to a Portuguese school. Seen in this light, the choice of language is mainly instrumental within the group. The interviews also showed that English, which has no relationship with their ethnic origin, was also regarded as important. Results from part III of the questionnaires in which the respondents were asked to choose the language/languages they preferred in a number of situations, correspond to the results of the interviews.

Table 4.17: Languages Taught at School (questionnaire – part 3).

4. Which languages do you think should be taught at school?	
valid	90
missing	0
Chinese	88.9%
Portuguese	64.4%
English	92.2%
others	0

Table 4.18: Medium of Instruction (questionnaire – part 3)

9. What mediums of instruction would you prefer for education in Macau?	
valid	90
missing	0
Cantonese	70%
Putonghua	50%
Portuguese	52.2%
English	72.2%
others	0 %

The frequencies were counted and compared. As seen in table 4.17, English was chosen as the most important language, the next highest was Chinese and the lowest was Portuguese, at school. The results indicate that the respondents thought that English was a more important language than Chinese and Portuguese for their children. Portuguese, which they regarded as their ethnic language, had the lowest priority among the three languages. In table 4.18, English also had the highest percentage, higher than Cantonese and Portuguese which suggests that Portuguese (their ethnic language) was not seen as an important language at school. Again, it may indicate the instrumental reason behind their choice.

The statistics also show the fact that English seemed to be the most popular language in the group. It had the highest priority in school. The reason behind that

is perhaps more than just an instrumental reason. It is the power that it gives and that is associated with the language which matters as the results of both interviews and questionnaire seem to show that the economic value of language could outweigh the ethnicity factor.

This again supports, as mentioned in section 4.1.1.2, Edwards' (1994) and Gans' (1991) view that language can act as a symbolic boundary marker of the group without the group knowing that language. The Portuguese language was important and was able to be maintained within the group in the past mainly because of its status, as people could gain good economic return and at the same time a high status ethnic identity. The political change has brought about a status change – both to the language and the identity, which used to enable the group to compare favourably with the Chinese group. What clearly emerges here is that the Portuguese language has changed to a symbolic status which 'is no longer any sort of barrier to social advance' (Edwards, 1994:128). As for identity, as mentioned in section 4.1.6, it is possible for them to shift their allegiance from half of their identity to another half without changing group membership.

4.2.1.5 Code Mixing all the Time

The interviewees said that they mixed codes all the time. This phenomenon was not regarded by the interviewees as one of the criteria to define a Macanese; however, this is regarded as a prominent language feature of the group.

Interviewee 9: English, Cantonese and Portuguese. There isn't a wholly Portuguese, Cantonese or English sentence. Every sentence, there are three kinds of languages.

Interviewer : what language(s) do you use at home?

Interviewee 11 : Portuguese and Cantonese but Cantonese more

Interviewer : how about brothers and sisters?

Interviewee 11 : Cantonese, English and Portuguese.

Code-mixing is common among the Macanese group. They tend to use a mixture of Portuguese and Chinese and in some cases Portuguese, Chinese and English

when they talk to people of the same group. This seems to be a linguistic feature for group distinctiveness. Their way of talking can differentiate them from the Chinese and the Portuguese. They may not have enough vocabulary in either one language or both languages, which may seem to be also a feature of the group.

Interviewee 6: I use Portuguese when I talk about relatives because Portuguese terms about relatives are not as complicated as Chinese. Sometimes when I forget the terms in Chinese I would use Portuguese.

As a result, they need to use a mixture of both languages.

Code-mixing does not happen very often when they talk to people of the other group. Most of them said that when they talked to Chinese friends, they used only Cantonese if possible. This shows that they tended to use mixed code when they talked to ingroup members and tried to avoid this feature when they talked to people who were not members of their group. Code-mixing seems to be a linguistic feature for ingroup communication only. As Giles (1978: 231) states,

the higher a subordinate group perceives its vitality to be, the more likely its members will accentuate their ethnolinguistic features in interethnic encounters

In the Macanese case, the absence of this kind of distinct speech style in intergroup relation shows that the group did not perceive a high vitality of the group

4.2.1.6 Patois (Patoá or Patio) Which Does Not Exist Any More

The language Patio, which was originally a language, in which a Chinese wife communicated with her Portuguese husband, was mentioned in the interviews. For Batalha (1994: 132)

...it is locally understood to be the old Creole Dialect, that is, a Colonial Dialect which took root here and was passed on from father to son for three-hundred years up to the last century, and was spoken as a common language even among the more distinguished people. It was also spoken by the Chinese in their daily contact with the Macanese, and also by

African and Asian slaves brought by here by people from various sources, and afterwards by the following generations born here.

It is a language (according to the interviewees) which is composed of Malaysian, Portuguese, Punjabi and African. Only very few elderly ladies speak this language in Macau now. Although this language has lost its communicative purpose, it is an unique language of the group. As Wang Chon (2001: 68) states:

Patio is a kind of mixed language which is a feature of the Macanese group....it represents a culture tradition, a kind of cultural recognition, one of the emblems of the Macanese, and is one of the important elements which constructs the Macanese identity.

The group has been making efforts to preserve the language as there is a Patio Drama Association and a Patio drama performed in the Macau Art Festival every year. This is a very important symbol for the Macanese identity but is not regarded as a marker for group boundaries. This is not a language to recruit new members or to differentiate members from other groups. However, it has a symbolic representation for the group.

4.2.2 Summary

It seems that language plays an important role in Macanese identity maintenance. Portuguese is regarded as the group's first language although they admit that it is not an important and most frequently used language in Macau. It is not a language for consideration when they choose schools for their children. The Portuguese language has lost its high social status and has been changing to a symbolic status in the group. Like Patoá, it has gradually lost its communicative purpose but still maintains a sentimental and emotional grip on the group (Edwards, 1994:126). In this way, the ethnic language will not be 'any sort of barrier to social advance' (*ibid*: 126).

Chinese (the written language) has become a strong language within the group. Chinese was not a language that the Macanese chose to learn in the past, as the Chinese side was not the one with which they wanted to identify. The political

shift has created a situation in which they need to reconstruct their ethnic identity, as Chinese has become a very useful language if one stays in Macau; it is a language, both written and spoken (Putonghua), that most Macanese would learn now. They regarded this language as important but only confined to Macau or the Mainland. English, which is always related to power and wealth universally, was the language they considered to be the most important

All these seem to show that language is an important marker of the Macanese group identity. However, the great economic value of English seems to have a higher priority than the ethnic value of Portuguese and a higher economic value than Chinese.

The Macanese case has shown that participants put more investment in the other languages than Chinese in the past. They picked up Cantonese from their friends and neighbors and did not go further to learn how to read and write Chinese. This shows that their intention of identifying with the Chinese was weak. The result of McKay and Wong's study (1996: 577) provides an explanation for the Macanese's language choice in the past, *viz.* that investment in the four skills of listening speaking reading and writing can be highly selective and different skills can have different values in relation to learner identities. If an investment in a target language is also an investment in identity, it is clear that the Macanese group avoided identifying with the Chinese by limiting themselves to the speaking of Cantonese only. Morbey (1994: 206-207) also has the same opinion on this issue:

(.....) Macanese people can write and speak Portuguese, but as a rule, can neither read or write Chinese. (....) Language is the key to gaining access to, and disseminating, a culture. In the case of the Macanese, their mastering of Portuguese has been the strongest factor attaching them to Portuguese culture. Similarly, the inability to read and write Chinese has been a decisive factor in their detachment from Chinese culture, of which the most erudite form have become alien.

It has been argued (see section 2.2) that a change of language leads to a change of identity because ethnic groups regard language as a marker for group

distinctiveness. If this is true, there should be an identity change of the Macanese group. The Macanese case does not seem to support this idea. The language shift does not seem to induce an identity change. The Macanese group is different from other minority groups because they are of mixed racial origin descent. They have two mother tongues originally – Cantonese and Portuguese. In the past, when Portuguese had a higher social status, the Macanese adopted it as their mother language. Now, Chinese has become the most important language, it is easy for them to shift to Chinese/Cantonese language without a change of identity. They only need to shift from being Portuguese-prone to being Chinese-prone within the Macanese group and this change could be reversible if the condition became favourable for being Portuguese-prone Macanese.

4.3 The Role of Schooling in Ethnic Identity Maintenance

Schooling is believed to have an important role to play in ethnic identity maintenance (Byram, 1990; Edwards, 1994). Studies by Wardekker and Miedema (2001) also showed that school is a place where personal identity of students is constructed. There are several means by which schools can help the maintenance of the ethnic identity of the minority group. One way is to put the minority language into the curriculum, so that children of minority group can learn it formally at schools (Byram and Leman, 1990). Another way is to have minority schools, so that parents can send their children to these schools in order to attain their identity (Byram, 1986; Edwards, 1994; Driessen, 2000; Motani, 2002).

As mentioned by the interviewees (section 5.1 d), 99% of Macanese during their time went to Portuguese school. Morbey (1994 : 206) argued that

in such marriages (marriages between Portuguese men and Chinese women), the Portuguese cultural references are transmitted from one generation to the next as the main references because of the internal structure of the family, rather than racial. One of the most important decisions to be made in such marriages concerns the education of the children. A Portuguese education has been the obvious choice, as obvious as the father's authority within the family.

4.3.1 School is a Place Where They Could Learn their Ethnic Language

Portuguese was the medium of instruction and the main language that they learnt from school. English, Chinese and other languages were only elective languages. They could choose one or two out of these languages. Learning the Portuguese language seems to have been one of the reasons for their going to Portuguese schools. As Portuguese was a very important language to preserve their position as a middleman between the Portuguese and the Chinese, the Macanese were cautious about their children's education.

Interviewer: why do you go to a Portuguese school

Interviewee 4: because my parents hadn't thought about other choices. We are the group which is closer to Portuguese. My brothers all went to Portuguese school. In daily life, they are close to Chinese people, but they still keep Macanese customs. They use forks instead of chopsticks. They go to Mass during Christmas. We don't have union dinner during Chinese New Year. We give red packets to children. On the first day of Chinese New Year, we visit our uncles. We don't celebrate mid-autumn festival. We don't worship our ancestors. We don't burn 'paper stuff' in Chinese Ghost Festival. Therefore, we've never thought of learning Chinese. Knowing how to speak Cantonese would be enough to work in the government. Portuguese was the main language in the government.

Here, the reason for learning the language from the Portuguese school is both instrumental and ethnic. The language would bring them economic benefit as well as being connected to ethnicity. As Portuguese in the past was a very important marker for group boundaries, they had to accentuate their ethnic language and try to avoid the intrusion of Chinese language so as to consolidate their boundaries.

Interviewee 8: my elder sister and elder brother spoke Portuguese at home, even after they had a lot of contact with the Chinese people and picked up the language, they were not allowed to speak Cantonese at home.

This quotation indicates that Macanese (Portuguese) parents were very strict about the language. They tried hard to create a Portuguese speaking environment for their children, not just at school but also at home, showing that the Portuguese language played a very important role in their ethnic identity during their time.

This phenomenon has also been mentioned in Pina-Cabral and Lourenco's book (1995: 124):

In order to ensure that their children could get into Portuguese secondary school, they taught their children Portuguese from an early age. The famous Macanese families were very strict about language at home. They forced their children to speak Portuguese. If the children were found to speak Cantonese at home, they would be punished.

Language was a crucial factor for the Macanese to consider in the education of their children.

4.3.2 The System of Portuguese Schools is that of Portugal

All the Portuguese schools (there were several before the 1999 handover) followed a Portuguese system. The syllabus, examinations and books were all from Portugal. Students all learnt Portuguese history culture and geography.

Interviewee 4: for example, I learnt the Portugal train route, Portuguese history and culture in Primary.

Interviewee 8: we had the same examinations the Portuguese schools in Portugal on the same day. The exam papers were all from Portugal, and we had only Portuguese history in secondary.

The culture aspects in the curriculum may be useful in identity maintenance. History, according to Goodson (1997) is important as a creator of identity.

4.3.3 The Way of Teaching Is Different from that of Chinese or English Schools

Portuguese schools encouraged students' creativity, and memorization was not encouraged. They think that Chinese and English schools require students to memorize things.

Interviewee 1: in Chinese schools students start to read and write at a very early age, in Portuguese schools, students started to learn ABC, singing, dancing, drawing in primary which give them a chance to show their creativity.

Interviewee 9: Portuguese schools do not require students to memorize a lot of things – they need to think, memorizing thing is not required. English schools are not very flexible but a bit better than Chinese schools. Portuguese schools encourage students' creativity.

Interviewee 7: The system of Portuguese schools is that of European. Chinese and English schools is spoon-feeding education, there are a lot of exams and homework. In Portuguese schools, there are tests but no exams, we have tests once a month, it's a continuous assessment, their teaching is more flexible, no memorization, but students can learn a lot.

As seen from the quotes, Portuguese school is seen as having more flexibility in teaching and memorization is not required. On the other hand, English and Chinese schools are too strict and lack flexibility and creativity.

4.3.4 The Atmosphere of the Schools is Free and Open

Interviewees used expressions such as 'free' and 'open' to characterize the atmosphere in their schools. The words 'free' and 'open' are used in the following quotation:

Interviewee 10, students' mind from a Portuguese school is different from that from a private school. Portuguese school are more open. They don't wear uniform because students don't like it. Human rights and freedom are important in Portuguese schools.

Here, it is evident that the symbol of lack of freedom was the school uniform, which was a must in Chinese and some English schools. Freedom, openness and human right were associated with a Portuguese school, while the Chinese and English schools were considered not to have these qualities. Therefore, it was not just the language which was important but also the ethos of the schools.

4.3.5 Schooling Is a Way to Acquire their Portuguese Identity

As mentioned in Section 4.3.1 Portuguese schools were the schools where '99% of the Macanese went at that time'. Nearly all the Macanese went to Portuguese school when they were young. Several reasons were given in the interviews.

4.3.5.1 A Place which Provides a Sense of Groupness

They went to study there because they were Macanese and all their relatives went there. This shows that going to Portuguese school was a way to provide them with a sense of groupness.

Interviewer: what classmates did you have?

Interviewee 9 : some Portuguese, the majority were Macanese.

Interviewer: do you know why your parents sent you to a Portuguese school

Interviewee 8: this is a stage that all the Macanese must go through

Interviewer: do you know why your parents sent you to a Portuguese school

Interviewee 4: they had never thought about sending me to a Chinese school. They belong to the group of Macanese who is closer to the Portuguese side, they had never thought about sending me to other schools, my elder brothers all went to Portuguese schools.

It was the kind of school to which nearly all of the Macanese children would go and therefore, it was a place in which they would feel the same as other classmates, as shown in the results of question 22 of the questionnaires. A binomial test was run in order to see the proportions of the subjects agreeing with the statement; 4 was chosen as the cutting point so as to divide the data into two groups (1-4 and 5-7). 5-7 was put in a group to see a clear preference to the statement (for questions 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, a binomial test with 4 as the cutting point was run to see how the respondents responded to the statement; the observed proportion of group 2 greater than .50 indicate the respondents tend to agree with the statement), the observed proportion indicated .71 and shows that they feel the same as other students at school (see tables 4.19 and 4.20).

Table 4.19: Did you Feel the Same as Other Students when you Went to School (questionnaire –part 2)

Binomial Test

		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Did you feel the same as other students when you went to school?	Group1	≤4	24	.29	.50	.000 ^a
	Group2	>4	60	.71		
	Total		84	1.00		

a. based on Z approximation

Table 4.20: Did Going to School Make you Feel you Were Part of Your Group (questionnaire – part 2)

Binomial Test

		Category	N	Observed Prop.	Test Prop.	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Did going to school make you feel you were part of your group	Group1	≤4	26	.31	.50	.001 ^a
	Group2	>4	58	.69		
	Total		84	1.00		

a. based on Z approximation

The observed proportion of the 2 questions are .71 and .69 respectively. However, school was not considered to be a place where they could acquire Macanese culture, as the mean rank in table 4.21 indicates. It is only a place where they had mostly Portuguese culture. It also shows that they learnt mostly Portuguese culture when they were at school.

Table 4.21: What culture did they learn when they were at school (questionnaire – part 2)

21. How much of the following cultures did you learn when you were at school?		Mean Rank	Sig.
	Chinese culture	1.57	.000
	Portuguese culture	2.58	
	Macanese culture	1.85	

With regard to the Portuguese culture, the mean rank score is 2.58, which is much higher than the two other mean rank scores, and shows that they had mostly Portuguese culture when they were at school.

4.3.5.2 Portuguese School Was a Place which Helped them to Maintain their Advantage and Status.

Portuguese school was a place where they could learn Portuguese, Portuguese culture and feel a sense of groupness. All of these could help a group to realize its ethnic identity. According to interviewee 2, going to Portuguese school could maintain their advantage and status in the society.

Interviewer: why did all Macanese go to Portuguese school?

Interviewee 2: they were eager to preserve Portuguese culture, they did not want to put in Chinese culture, they wanted to maintain their advantage and status in the society. For our future, Portuguese was needed to work in the government.

This has also been mentioned in section 4.3.1, where it was argued that language was important for their position as a ‘middleman’ in the government. Going to school was in to acquire Portuguese ethnic identity, to obtain Portuguese culture and a sense of groupness; more importantly, it provided the dominant language which the Macanese required for economic betterment. The Macanese had decided to put their investment in the Portuguese identity, and therefore chose to study in Portuguese schools.

4.3.5.3 Acquiring Portuguese Culture

The interviewees mentioned that teacher ethnicity was important in conveying culture. Students could learn Macanese culture only when the teachers were themselves Macanese who knew a lot about Macanese culture. If teachers were from Portugal or China, it was difficult for them to teach Macanese culture as they did not know it themselves.

Interviewee 2: it is difficult. Teachers of Chinese schools and Portuguese schools are not from Macau. They don't know much about Macanese culture themselves, so how can they teach students Macanese culture. It is very difficult.

This shows that the teachers’ identity itself is important in preserving Macanese culture. This corresponds with McAlpine *et al.*’s (1996) study that a teacher from one culture may not adequately represent the complexity and diversity in classrooms of another culture.

4.3.6 Summary

The results show that schooling was considered to be important for Macanese group identity maintenance. It was a place where they could learn their mother language in which they chose to invest, have a sense of groupness and congregate. However, Portuguese schools did not seem to be a place where they could acquire

their own Macanese culture. It was a place where they could gain a good return on their investment. The Macanese case seems to be a bit different from the other minority cases (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Byram 1986), where going to minority school is for ethnic identity maintenance. In Macau, the Portuguese schools not only provide a means for ethnic identity maintenance but also a better economic opportunity for the Macanese in the society in being a 'middleman' between the Portuguese and the Chinese. Unlike other minority groups, where acquiring a native proficiency of one's ethnic language would not benefit their opportunity in the dominant society, in the Macanese case, they could obtain both their ethnic language and economic betterment. Therefore, the role of schooling, in this case, may be important for upward mobility and it also happens to be for ethnic identity maintenance.

4.4 Conclusion

A number of features are found in the analysis which construct the Macanese identity. There are both objective and subjective characteristics, some of which are markers which form the group boundaries. It is also illustrated from the results that although there are markers of boundaries, the boundaries are very flexible, perhaps as a result of the major changes which are taking place in the society. The markers which indicate 'Portugueseness' have been deliberately changed as showed in our study. A change of marker is not necessarily accompanied by a change of identity. In the Macanese case, there are signs of 'passing' from half of their identity to another half of their identity, which is a shift of allegiance from one group to another. One can argue that this is not an identity change as the Macanese are of mixed descent. They are still Macanese even if they have moved from being Portuguese-prone to being Chinese-prone. They are not the same as an immigrant minority group who need to pass from say for example Spanish to American. These two types of passing are reversible, and as Barth (1969) suggests, ethnicity can be negotiable and individuals may change their ethnicity under the right circumstances, so there is a certain situational flexibility.

With regard to the Macanese, they can pass without a change of ethnic identity because it is just a change of allegiance. For immigrants, it is not possible to 'pass' to the dominant group without a change of ethnic identity and very often ethnic identity can not be changed if blood relationship is seen as an important marker for group boundaries. However in the Macanese case, they can move from being Portuguese-prone to being Chinese-prone without a change of ethnicity, or, in Marreiros's (1994: 171) words, from being 'True Macanese' to being 'New Macanese'. Another way of looking at the change from being Portuguese- to being Chinese-prone is that the group is changing the interpretation of its markers, therefore, their identity remains the same, and the markers are in the process of changing definition at a time of flux.

Language has an intricate role to play in Macanese identity maintenance. Patio, Portuguese, Cantonese, Chinese and English all play a role. Patio has its symbolic role in the Macanese culture. In the past, Portuguese was the language which could provide a positive identity to enable members to compare favorably with other groups. It was the language of power which could offer a very good return on investment in learning it. Cantonese was the language used to communicate with the Chinese group. It was only for instrumental purposes and confined only to oral proficiency. This shows that the Macanese were conscious of the boundary between Macanese and Chinese. They avoided blurring the boundary of the two groups by accentuating the Portuguese language and attenuating the Chinese language. This corresponds with Giles and Johnson's ethnolinguistic identity theory (1981: 72), which states that

a high level of perceived vitality increases the salience of group identity for members and hence intensifies their inclination to accentuate group speech markers in order to establish favorable psycholinguistic distinctiveness.

However, there are signs of change in the new generations. As Chinese has become a more important language, Portuguese is not accentuated among the

group any more. It has gradually lost its communicative purpose among the group although it is still regarded as a symbolic marker of the group. The new generations speak Cantonese and know how to read and write Chinese. They may not speak a word of Portuguese. In the past, they chose Portuguese as their mother tongue and to identify with the Portuguese, because the Portuguese identity was perceived as having higher status. The political shift seemed to have changed the situation. Their half-Chinese identity, which they used to 'play down' has taken on a more favourable status. The language which goes with Chinese identity has become more important. As a result, there has been a shift of group and a shift of language preference within the boundaries. 'New Macanese' do not choose to invest in the Portuguese language any more, as this language has lost its economic value as perceived by the group although it is still a main language in some government domains. Instead, Chinese has been chosen as their first language. The political change has had an effect on the language, which also has had an effect on identity and its construction.

School acted as an instrument for the Macanese to learn the language and the identity that they chose to invest in so that they could gain a good return in the past. It was not a place where they could learn their Macanese culture or a Macanese language. In fact, it was a place where they could learn Portuguese and acquire Portuguese affinity. Further, it was also a place where they could study with only other Macanese and Portuguese children. In other words, they could stay away from the Chinese. This was a way to avoid too much Chinese intrusion in the formation of their favourable Portuguese identity and to draw clear boundaries between themselves and the Chinese group. However, this is no longer true for the Macanese group. The new generations do not avoid mingling with the Chinese or intrusion of Chinese elements. They study in Chinese or English medium schools and do not speak Portuguese. They do not distinguish themselves from the Chinese. It is possible for the Macanese to change to a more favourable group with such a shift of identity within their group and this

distinctive Macanese identity will continue to exist as long as the subjective or symbolic group markers exist. However, as Edwards states (1994: 127),

indeed when boundaries disappear, when even the most subjectively or symbolically sustained group markers vanish, then the ethnic group itself has ceased as a viable concept.

Therefore, it is possible the Macanese will cease to be a distinctive group if the subjective and symbolic markers disappear.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION POLICY AND MACANESE IDENTITY

In the first chapter of this thesis we described the background of the study and suggested that the role of language and schooling in Macanese identity is an important issue, particularly due to the effects of the political change. The political change has brought about a number of changes, such as the introduction of Putonghua in the syllabus, the change of status and function of Portuguese and the change of role of Portuguese education. All these changes will certainly affect the students in the education system, especially the Macanese, whose identity is closely related to Portuguese education and language. As a result, the language and education policies should be reviewed to see whether they still cater for the needs of the group. The purposes of this study is therefore to examine the Macanese identity and the role of language and schooling, if any, on the Macanese identity maintenance and its implications on education policies in Macau.

The earlier chapters have also included a literature review to establish a deeper understanding of the issues of language, identity and education which are useful in understanding the Macanese case, together with a methodology chapter to explain the rationale and the procedures of this research, and a data analysis chapter, to have an in-depth understanding and discussion of Macanese identity, the role of education and language and the characteristics which form the boundaries of Macanese identity. As we can see from the empirical investigation, language and schooling are closely related to identity in the case of Macanese and the results also show that Macanese have an unusual facility of change of allegiance without change of identity, that is, they can move from being Portuguese-prone Macanese to being Chinese-prone Macanese but still maintain their Macanese identity.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the Macau language education policy in the context of our understanding of Macanese identity in the previous chapter. The discussion of this chapter is in two parts. It begins by an inspection of the policies by integrating the findings in the previous chapter. The second part discusses implications for education policies in Macau. We would like to stress here that the analysis will be based on the policies which are currently implemented in schools rather than on proposed policy which is yet to be implemented.

5.1 Macau Education Policies and Macanese Identity

5.1.1 Languages and Language Policies

Here, policies refer to the policies of the government to the government schools and the private schools. Although private schools do not have the obligation to follow the guidelines produced by the government in many areas, most of them do follow. The change of administration from Portuguese to Chinese had had some effects on the status and functions of different languages.

5.1.1.1 Portuguese

According to Article 9 of Macau Basic Law 1993,

In addition to the Chinese language, Portuguese may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of Macau Special Administrative Region.

It is stated in the Basic Law that Portuguese is also an official language used in Macau. This is important to ensure Macau's smooth transition and shows respect for, and protection of, the rights and interests of Portuguese descendants in Macau. Before the handover, Portuguese was the only official language although the

majority of the people in Macau did not speak the language. It was only the language of the ruling class and therefore enjoyed high status in Macau. People who spoke this language could benefit from it and this was particularly true for the Macanese group. The Macanese were the group of people who could speak both Portuguese and Cantonese fluently, and Portuguese was regarded as a high language and Cantonese was regarded as a low language. The Portuguese language plays an important role in the Macanese identity and was once regarded as a defining feature of the group.

Although Portuguese is still regarded as an official language since the handover, its status is not the same as before because its important status has been superseded by the Chinese language and so has its function in the government. This change has important effects for the Macanese group, especially for the composition of their language repertoire. As seen in the results of the findings (section 4.3), the Portuguese language is a clear way to maintain a certain degree of 'Portugueseness', but this factor of identity maintenance does not appear to be as important as the economic factor. In fact, the Portuguese language is no longer an important defining feature of the group since the handover.

The government's attitude towards the language has always been supportive, both before and after the handover. Before the handover, the Portuguese government felt that there was a need to strengthen Portuguese culture and language in order to retain their influence after the handover. Since the handover, the government has still shown its concern for the future development of the Portuguese language and education. In public the Chief Executive of the MSAR (Macau Special Administrative Region) has promised support to the Portuguese language and the Portuguese School (Escola Portuguesa de Macau) (Macau Daily News, June 11 2003), viz.:

1. The MSAR government would respect the standpoint of the Portuguese government in respect of Portuguese language and the proposal about Portuguese that they put forward in future.

2. It is not only the Portuguese government's responsibility but also the MSAR's responsibility to provide education to the Portuguese and their descendants.

The government has made its position clear that it will support the Portuguese language and Portuguese education in Macau and it will provide education to the Portuguese and their descendants, in which the Macanese are included. However, providing the Portuguese language and education to the Portuguese descendants and the Macanese who are also Portuguese descendants are two different issues (this will be discussed in detail in the next section). In fact, the government's policy on the Portuguese language was criticized as unclear in Pereira de Sena's statement (1997: 32):

the legislation is practically limited to governing official status, but its regulations are insufficient and leave many aspects unsettled (...) The future protection of Portuguese as a co-official language of Macau when the territory becomes part of China is, therefore, unclear.

Although this criticism of the government's policy on Portuguese was made before the handover, it is still true. The government has always promised to give support to the protection of Portuguese, however, apart from bestowing an official status not much has been done particularly after the handover, since when Portuguese has lost much of its economic value.

5.1.1.2 Chinese, Cantonese and Putonghua

In the previous section, we have mentioned that Chinese is an official language in Macau. Chinese here refers to the written language. Although Chinese did not enjoy a high status in the government before the handover, it was and still is the native language of 97% of the population of Macau. It has always been the language for communication in Macau. The change of administration has bestowed it an official status. Therefore, it is now not only a language for communication but also a language of high status and importance. The escalation of its status and importance does not increase its popularity among the Chinese as

all of them learnt this language even before the handover. However, the change of status of the Chinese language has affected the place of Chinese within the Macanese group.

In the past, Macanese only confined themselves to the spoken form (Cantonese). The change of the status from low to high has important effects on the Macanese attitude towards Chinese. They started to send their children to learn Chinese after the signing of the Joint Declaration of 1989. One reason for the change is that Chinese has not only superseded Portuguese as the most important language in the enclave, it has also superseded Portuguese as a tool for job prospects and economic betterment for the Macanese group. As an official language and a language for Chinese national identity, it is natural for the government to put it in the curriculum and in law to make sure this language is provided in the education system.

Cantonese is a variety of Chinese language and it is the language of daily communication in Macau. It is the medium of instruction in Chinese schools, the language for communication in the government, the language to show Macau people's identity, and the language that 98% of the population speak. Nearly all the Macanese speak this language as this is the language for communication in their daily life. Chinese or Macanese students do not need to learn this language formally at school and there are no classes mainly for this purpose. They pick up the language from their parents, on television, on the streets or from friends. This language is an indispensable language in Macau.

Putonghua, a standard spoken language in China, has increased its importance and has been introduced in the curriculum of the government schools and the guidelines of the private schools after the handover. Learning this language would definitely benefit the students' future and also show one's national identity. For the Macanese, this language would surely bring economic betterment although it may not be a language to show national identity for them. Realizing the

importance of this language, the government introduced this language in the 1999 Syllabus Guidelines, indicating that students are required to learn Putonghua from primary three (P3), but this is not a requirement for the Portuguese medium schools.

5.1.1.3 English

English is neither an official language nor a language for communication in most of Macau. However, this language is regarded as important, especially for the Macanese. It is taught in all schools as a second or third language except in the government Portuguese primary schools. The Macanese regarded this language as more important than Portuguese, as English was associated with power and economic betterment. For the Macanese group, its economic value has been given more weight than their ethnic maintenance.

However, the government does not accord a lot of importance to English language in its schools. In government schools, English is only a third or even a fourth language with the introduction of Putonghua. Students in government Chinese schools started learning English at grade 5 and there are no English lessons in Portuguese primary sections. English is not used in the government and official documents are all in Chinese and Portuguese, though some documents and public notices are now being written in English translation, this is not obligatory at all. The government attitude towards English language in the government schools does not seem to be practical and suit the needs of the local Chinese students and the Macanese group.

5.1.1.4 Summary

Portuguese has lost its importance in terms of job prospects and economic betterment within the Macanese group, although it still has some importance in ethnic identity maintenance. This language never substantially concerned the

Chinese group before and since the handover. Chinese has become a language of high status. This is a language that the Macanese used to avoid but now it has a higher status than Portuguese. Therefore, functionally speaking, Chinese has become a high language while Portuguese has become a less important language as perceived by the Macanese within the group. English has always had a superior high status and its association with power and advancement internationally can even outweigh the language of ethnic maintenance. Putonghua is also considered as important as it is the national language of China. Seen in this light, the political change has shifted the role and importance of the languages within the Macanese group. For the indigenous students, they need two written languages (Chinese, English) and three spoken languages (Cantonese, English, Putonghua). For the Macanese group, they need three written languages (Portuguese, Chinese and English) and four spoken languages (Portuguese, Cantonese, English and Putonghua).

5.1.2 Languages and Medium of Instruction

The indigenous Chinese students need two written languages and three spoken languages. The co-existence of different mediums of private schools can certainly cater for the different needs of students. If they go to a private Chinese-medium school, they learn mainly Chinese and have English as a second language and Putonghua as one of the subjects. If they go to a private English-medium school, all the subjects except Chinese and Putonghua are taught in English and they still have Chinese and Putonghua in their syllabus. Therefore, Chinese medium schools, in which English is taught as a second language, or English medium schools, in which emphasis is put on both English and Chinese, should provide enough choice for the local Chinese students.

For the Macanese, they need three written languages and four spoken languages but they may not need to have a high level of fluency in all the languages. As seen in the results of the findings (section 4.3), speaking Portuguese is no doubt a way

to maintain certain degree of 'Portugueseness', but this factor of ethnic identity maintenance does not seem to be as important as the economic one and it is not considered to be important in choosing schools for their children. In fact, the political change has created some changes to the boundaries of the group, such that fluency in the Portuguese language is no longer a criterion of the group. The Macanese may not need to learn their ethnic language as their first language and what they want is the language that allows them to have good job prospects and to have full participation in the wider society. English, which is regarded as a language associated with power and economic betterment is more important.

An ideal language syllabus for the Macanese should be to stress the English and Chinese language, and Portuguese could be learnt as one of the subjects and Putonghua should also be included. At the moment, private Chinese-medium schools only place emphasis on Chinese and Putonghua, and private English-medium schools only give importance to English and Chinese. In Chinese government schools, Portuguese is taught as a second language, which is thereby accorded more importance than English. In government Portuguese-medium schools, Portuguese is the main emphasis and Chinese is taught but only for 3 to 4 hours a week. In the private Portuguese-medium school, the emphasis is on Portuguese and English is taught for three hours a week.

Seen in this light, there is not any single school which caters for the language needs of the Macanese. Private schools do not offer Portuguese for the group. Government Chinese schools do not offer enough English for the group. Government Portuguese schools do not offer English at all, and private Portuguese schools do not offer Chinese. The private schools do provide the languages that the Macanese need to have full participation in the mainstream society, but at the risk of losing their ethnic language. Apart from that, the present curriculum of the government and private Portuguese medium schools does not correspond with the change of allegiance of identity and language of the Macanese group.

In short, the three types of medium of instruction in Macau schools are not able to meet the needs of the Macanese group.

5.1.3 Portuguese Education

Portuguese education, although meeting the needs of a small number of people could not be seen as 'real' minority education before the handover. Minority education very often aims to preserve the culture and language of a minority group in a society and students are deprived of the chance of equal access to the wider society. Portuguese education in the past was a place in which the Macanese could acquire their 'Portugueseness'. More importantly, Portuguese schools could provide the Portuguese language, which was an important marker for the Macanese group. Apart from the language, the Portuguese school could also provide Portuguese culture, history, geography and also a place to be with people of the same ethnicity.

Therefore, Portuguese school in the past served the following functions. First, it fulfilled the Macanese choice of allegiance to half of their Portuguese identity when the Portuguese were still the ruling class; second it provided the ethnic language for ethnic identity maintenance. Third, it offered the language for social and economic betterment.

As indicated in the previous chapter, Portuguese education has played an important role in the Macanese identity. However, the political shift has changed the functions of Portuguese education and it has become 'real' minority education. Portuguese has lost its economic value since the handover, in the minds of the Macanese. Therefore, Portuguese, the main language provided in Portuguese schools, could not bring any economic benefit to the students and it may even deprive the students of the opportunity to have full participation in the wider society. Besides, the curriculum of both government and private Portuguese

schools does not correspond with the mainstream society and culture as Portuguese history, culture and geography are not the majority culture.

These schools would be, no doubt, suitable for the children of the expatriates from Portugal who stay in Macau temporarily so as to keep their Portuguese culture and language. But for the Macanese who have decided to stay in Macau for good, the present Portuguese education would only deprive the children of the chance to have equal opportunity in the wider society. As stated in the previous section, the Macanese need four spoken languages and three written languages. They need a high proficiency in English and Chinese for economic advancement.

A drastic decrease of the intake rate, and the fade-out of government Portuguese schools, is shown in the following figures. According to the official statistics (Education Survey, 01-02 and 03-04), there were 3,297 students studying in Portuguese schools in 1999, compared to 953 in 2003. At the moment, there are no independent official Portuguese schools in Macau; what exists are three Portuguese medium sections (two day sections for children and one evening section for adults) in two official Chinese-Portuguese medium schools. The total number of students in day sections and evening section is 48 and 107 respectively. There are two Portuguese private schools and the total number of students in these two schools is 798. The reason for the falling of intake rate can be accounted for by the fact that a large number of expatriates and Macanese left Macau at the time of the handover and a lot of Macanese have given up Portuguese education and chosen to study in a Chinese or English medium school.

Although the government has announced the continuous support of Portuguese education, it fails to locate for which target group Portuguese education should be. The needs of the expatriates' children and the Macanese, unlike in the past, are not the same any more. Judging from the syllabus of the official Portuguese schools, in which English is not part of the primary syllabus, it seems that the government does not cater for the specific needs of the Macanese. Supporting

Portuguese schools without a clear target group or considering the suitability of the curriculum to the mainstream society after the handover does not seem, in respect of the Macanese, to be sensible.

5.1.4 Equality of Opportunity

As stated in the law of education (Law no.11/91/M article 1.2, 1991),

The Administration will promote the development of adequate mechanisms for an effective equality of opportunities for access to and success in education.

It is commonly believed that proper education policies should provide equality of opportunity for all citizens, regardless of their race, belief or religion. It is recognized as an important aspect in education but it has not been implemented properly in many countries throughout the world. In Macau, the statement in the law of education shows the government's recognition of the importance of the issue. Before the establishment of the Education Law 91, students who could not afford the tuition fee went to government schools and others who could pay the high tuition fee went to private schools. The government schools provided free education from kindergarten to form six in which Portuguese was the medium of instruction or a second language.

With the introduction of compulsory education in 1991 (see section 1.2.3), the government established a network of free education. Private schools which are willing to join the network provide free education until form three. Students whose school is in the network do not need to pay tuition fee until form three, but not all private schools are in the network. Those whose school is not in the network still need to pay expensive school fees. The number of years of free education is 10 for the schools in the network. In the government schools, students enjoy 15 years of free education. In this sense, we can say that students do have equity in enjoying the right to education until form three. If they do not

have the economic power to continue their studies, what they can do could be either to discontinue their education or to go to the government schools in which English is not regarded as an important language. Seen in this light, we can only say that students only have equity in respect of education up to form three but not the equity to have the type or the years of education they want.

For the Macanese who regard themselves as a minority group, the effects of the political change have created a dilemma of whether to maintain their ethnic identity or to choose the mainstream languages for their children. Portuguese schools, the minority schools, provided not only the language but also other Portuguese elements for students to maintain their 'Portugueseness' in the past. The government does not seem to take formal account of the change of situation of the Macanese group, but in order to show respect to the Portuguese language, everything concerning the Portuguese has remained the same as before the handover. In this case, the Macanese can enjoy the same kind of equality of opportunity as before.

However, due to the political shift, which has changed the status and needs of the group, 'sameness' is not equivalent to 'equity' any more in this case. Studying in a government Portuguese school could mean a free education up to form six and help to maintain students' ethnic identity to a certain extent. However, this could mean that students are deprived of the right to have access to the mainstream culture and languages. The Portuguese education only places emphasis on Portuguese language. Chinese and English are not given importance. As a result, students in Portuguese schools have limited access to Chinese and English, which may also be useful for their future.

Learning Portuguese and their showing of allegiance to the Portuguese side could provide good job prospects which compensated for the adequacy of limited access to Chinese and English in the past. The policy of the government to provide the same kind of minority education after the handover, disregarding the change of

needs of the Macanese group is problematic and does not provide 'equality of opportunity' to the group. The issue of the Macanese group after the handover is that there is no school under the present policy which caters for this group's needs.

5.1.5 Freedom of Choice

According to the Basic Law (Chapter VI article 122, 1993),

The existing educational institutions of all kinds in Macau may continue to operate. All educational institutions in the Macau Special Administrative Region shall enjoy their autonomy and teaching and academic freedom in accordance with law. Educational institutions of all kinds may continue to recruit staff and use teaching materials from outside the Macau Special Administrative Region. Students shall enjoy freedom of choice of educational institutions and freedom to pursue their education outside the Macau Special Administrative Region.

It is clear in the official documents that there is recognition of the right to have freedom of choice in education. It is true that students in Macau are free to choose the kind of education they want to have; they can have their education in Macau or abroad. However, since not all schools in Macau provide free education and those who provide free education only provide it up to form three, if students want to go to the kind of schools which are not in the network or want to continue their studies up to form six, they need to have considerable economic power. In Macau, free education until form six is offered only in the two kinds of official schools – Portuguese-medium, in which the second language is Chinese, and Chinese-medium, in which Portuguese is the second language. Other private schools which are in the network of free education are subsidized by the government and students are entitled to have 10 years (from preparatory primary to form three) free education in which only the tuition fee is exempted (Education Survey 01-02: 39):

(Universal, basic and free education) include the preparatory year for primary, primary and the lower secondary. The Education and Youth

Affairs Department is the agency to assure the implementation of free education in the public/government funded schools and government aided private schools. Free education means exemption from tuition fees, but excluding service charges on enrolment, issue of certificates, etc.

Other schools which are not in the network (usually schools of good reputation) charge expensive school fees. Seen in this light, for a student who does not have the economic power for education and who wants to have senior high secondary education, the only choice would be to the government schools in which Portuguese is a first or a second language. Therefore, freedom of choice is only for those who can afford, but those who do not have enough economic power are disadvantaged. Therefore, students or parents do not have real choice at all. Real choice is only for those who are well-off and do not belong to the Macanese group

With regard to the Macanese, their choice is further limited by the need to maintain their 'Portugueseness'. We cannot say that they do not have freedom of choice. However, their choice is not just a matter in terms of their economic power and the mainstream languages but also their allegiance to the Portuguese side. If they choose to remain studying in a Portuguese school, their 'Portugueseness' can be maintained but they may not have full access to the dominant society. If they choose to study in a Chinese or English school, they will have an equal access to the dominant society but run the risk of losing their 'Portugueseness'. There are no schools under the present policy which cater for their needs. No matter what their choice is, they are in a disadvantaged position of choosing between giving up their allegiance to Portuguese or full participation in the society. They do have free choice but can only choose between unfavourable and less unfavourable.

5.2 The Implication for the Present Policy

Having examined the needs of the Macanese and the inadequacy of the present education policy, we are now in a position to recommend changes for the present education policy.

5.2.1 Language Policy

As stated in Mann and Wong's paper (1999: 33),

While the official language policy stipulated in the Basic Law of Macau is one that could give the impression of being a plan for stable bilingualism and biculturalism, it will eventually and effectively, at least in the official domain, be seen to be a significant step to unilingualism and uniculturalism, i.e. towards assimilation.

The government always claims to support the notion of bilingualism or even multiculturalism. This can be seen in the official domain in that such official documents are written in Chinese and Portuguese. As discussed earlier, the legislation is limited to governing the official status of Portuguese, and there are not enough or definite plans to protect and maintain the language. Portuguese is used in official documents for the public in the government. Internal communications are mainly in Chinese. There are only very few people in Macau who know Portuguese. Besides, Portuguese is the least used and least popular language in the society, as shown in Mann and Wong's study (1999: 28-29):

Overall, surprisingly, apart from Cantonese (92%) English is the second-most-used language (29%) at home; Putonghua is in third place (24%) and only 8% claimed to use Portuguese. (The same pattern occurs in work, study and social engagements) (.....) in terms of priority and preference for various domain functions in Macau, Cantonese and English appear most highly valued, followed by Putonghua, with Portuguese coming in a dismal last in spite of its official language status, which it has enjoyed for about four centuries.

As in the education domain, the government has acted in a very limited way in preserving the language. If this continues, Macau will move in the direction of unilingualism and uniculturalism. The small number of day time students in the Portuguese-medium schools can also illustrate the fact that the Portuguese language is on the decline. Furthermore, English, which is one of the most highly valued languages, has not been given much importance by the government, as shown in the curriculum of the government schools.

Seen in this light, Portuguese together with Portuguese culture may gradually disappear and Macau will become a society of monolingual and monocultural people. If this is true, it will not only be detrimental to the Macanese group but also the society, and, indeed question the notion of 'one country, two systems'. For the Macanese group, it could signal the total disappearance of their ethnic language and culture. For the society, it is a loss of its uniqueness and its relationship to the Portuguese-speaking countries. This is not to say that Portuguese should be placed in a prestige status as before. It can be treated as one of the important foreign languages in the school syllabus in Macau.

Maintaining Portuguese as one of the important languages in Macau has advantages. First, it is a good idea for the students to be exposed to multilingual and multicultural education. To be able to learn more languages would definitely benefit the students' future prospects. It could be done not only to benefit the Macanese but also the local students. Second, it is a way to maintain its unique identity of a mixture of Chinese and Portuguese heritage. Third, it is a way to link with the Portuguese speaking countries and continue the relationship with these countries, not least in economic terms, since Beijing ruled in 2003 that all economic relations between the mainland and Portuguese speaking countries should be rooted through Macau, both to and from Beijing. Fourth, it is a means to show the government's concern for the needs of the minority groups. Therefore, the government should be careful in scrutinizing the language policy of

its schools, so as not to move in the direction of monolingualism; on the contrary, it should turn bilingualism into trilingualism or multilingualism.

5.2.2 English Language

As seen from the results (section 5.3), English is regarded as a very important language within the group and it is also a vital factor to be considered when choosing school. The government should put more emphasis on English, particularly in the school syllabus. The Macau government does not have any sort of policy imposed across all schools but it does have guidelines for schools concerning what topics need to be included in the syllabus and the number of hours for each subject. Schools, however, still have their autonomy on their syllabus.

English is regarded as important by the Chinese and Macanese. In Chinese-medium government schools, students start to learn English from primary 5 to form 6 and students have 3 hours of English per week. The amount of English taught at government schools is certainly not enough for the students to develop a high proficiency in the language.

There is a total of 94 schools in Macau of which 86.5% are Chinese-medium. English in these schools is taught as a second language. For private schools, the amount of English provided is flexible and schools have their autonomy to allocate the amount of time to this subject. Students start to learn English from preparatory level. The amount of time ranges from 3-5 hours per week. The number of contact hours are not adequate for the students in Chinese medium schools. It is not only the Macanese group who need to develop a high proficiency in English, but also the local Chinese students. The Macau government should encourage the government and private Chinese-medium schools to put more emphasis on English in their syllabus.

5.2.3 Government Involvement

One point concerning minority education which needs to be discussed here is whether the Macau government's involvement in the Macanese ethnic maintenance is useful. As mentioned by Kroon (1990: 424),

the governmental interference or influence in matters of ethnic identity maintenance, for example through mainstream ethnic minority language and culture lesson, negatively affect group's identity in the end.

If the above statement is true, it becomes doubtful whether the Macau government's involvement in Portuguese medium schools can help the maintenance of Macanese identity. However, the kind of minority group and minority education that Kroon was referring to are not the same as those in Macau. The Macanese in Macau are not immigrants; they are not the same as those minority groups who moved from their original country to another country. The Macanese are an indigenous minority group.

The minority education in Macau was once a sort of education which could provide a positive group identity and good future, although it may not guarantee a good future now. In the Macanese case, it is necessary for the government to be involved in catering for the needs of the group. One way to do this is to introduce Portuguese as an optional language subject in the private Chinese and English medium schools and allow the Portuguese medium schools to remain the same as at present. The group can choose whether to develop Portuguese identity and give up the mainstream languages or to have Portuguese as a 'community language' for the group (Kroon, 1990: 424) and learn other mainstream languages. Another way is to amend the curriculum of the government and private Portuguese schools in accordance with the needs of the students. In order to make amendments to the curriculum of the schools, the government needs to be aware of the students' needs; what could be done is to ensure that the students would not be deprived of having equal access to the dominant society.

5.2.4 Adequacy of Education

If education systems should enable students to have equality of opportunity and freedom of choice, then free universal education should be one of the criteria of the education policy. This may not be easy to do as it all depends on the amount of money the government is willing to spend on education. At the moment, the government is implementing 10 years of free education. However, with respect to private schools, only students whose school is in the network of free education can enjoy free education until form three. Schools which are in the network should follow certain regulations of the Education and Youth Affairs Department, such as the number of students in each class, the number of class hours, the submission of a financial report every year etc. At the moment, 81% (Education Survey, 03-04:16) of the private schools have joined the network. Students in these schools (83 out of 94) are required to pay for their tuition fees when they reach the upper forms. Those who cannot afford may need to quit as it may not be possible to go to the government schools to continue their upper forms. In fact, the government should extend free education to all the schools so that the number of years of free education are the same as the government schools. This would be done to ensure freedom of choice and equality of opportunity

5.2.5 Summary

Bray (1992) criticized Macau's education system as moving from an uncoordinated one to a centralized one. However, government involvement in the education issues is still not enough. The political change has changed the economic status of the Portuguese language, a language which plays an important role in the Macanese group. Therefore, it is necessary for the government to scrutinize the education policy so as to see whether the present curriculum caters for the needs of different groups. Employing a multilingual language policy which increases the emphasis on English and introduces Portuguese as one of the subjects, seems to be a reasonable choice. In order to move towards a multilingual

education, the government needs to have more involvement into the private school syllabus and also to amend the official school syllabus. All these issues require government's involvement.

5.2.6 Maintaining the Macanese Group

As seen in the previous chapters, we have found that there are ethnic markers and ethnic content in forming the Macanese identity. What we have to look at is the ethnic markers which form the boundary of the group, not the content inside it. As the content changes over time, it is the ethnic markers which allow the group to exist (Barth, 1969; Edwards, 1994). The results show that the Macanese have very flexible boundaries and the political change has made them change their 'Portugueseness', which was an important marker in the past. The Macanese can 'pass' from being Portuguese-prone to being Chinese-prone without a change of identity. As mentioned in chapter four (section 4.4), this can also be interpreted as a change of boundary markers. However, no matter which case it is, there should still be some defining markers for the boundaries, no matter how flexible they are. Therefore, it is important to understand which phenomena really contribute to the maintenance of the group, and one of these is Portuguese of which the government's involvement is necessary. They do not need to speak Portuguese fluently but this language needs to exist as an emotional dimension of the group (Edwards, 1994). Thus, the government's involvement is important.

Although the government's involvement is important, the group can also help themselves in maintaining their identity. A Patios Drama Club, Portuguese Folk Dance Association, a Macanese Association, etc. have been established with the aim to preserve its culture. These have been created in order to strengthen the Macanese culture within the group, in other words the cultural content which is not essential to strengthen the boundary of the group as the group itself is not an identity with strong cultural content. However, these associations can provide a chance or a place for the group to gather together, which is essential for

preserving the identity of the group. In short, the group itself of course can help to preserve its identity, but it will certainly be more effective with the government's involvement

5.2.7 Further Research

As in other studies, further questions can be raised regarding the issues in this study. The examination of the Macanese identity shows clearly that the features which maintain the Macanese identity have been strongly affected by the change of administration. As a result, the Portuguese language and 'Portugueseness' have been deliberately accommodated to social and economic change which have been brought about by political change. However, these changes do not affect Macanese identity fundamentally, as the Macanese have a unique way of 'passing' their allegiance from half of their identity to another half without changing their identity. The question of whether this kind of 'passing' is common among biracial groups is interesting and further research should be done in order to find answers to this question. This suggests that more research is needed on the group and the other groups to see whether it may contribute to the theory of biracial identity or minority identity. The Macanese group who are mostly affected by the political change provide a lot of room for further studies, not only because of the change in various aspects within the group but also because of the scarcity of studies of the Macanese group.

This study was not able to gather much information about the process of boundary maintenance which is also an important aspect on this issue. It could have gathered much more evidence on the process if a different method (participant observation) had been used. This could be done in future research.

A specific empirical approach was adopted in this study. In fact, an alternative approach in the methodology will be required for research into the identity issue of the Macanese in order to see whether results of studies using different

approaches support each other in terms of findings. If not, it would be interesting to discover how they are different and why they are different. In the study here the participants in both the questionnaire and interview were relatively small in number; therefore, a similar study in a larger scale is suggested.

This study is an investigation to see whether the present education policy especially the language policy corresponds to the changes in Macanese identity. It does not have enough room to have a thorough examination of the curriculum, the needs of the different groups or the plan of the government. All these aspects need careful and rigorous investigations and understanding. These are the areas for further studies since these aspects will have profound influence on the students, the schools and the society.

Appendix I Pre-pilot Test

Part I

I. In this part, different kinds of people are described. We want you to think about how similar you are to these people. You may be similar to them, or very similar to them, or you could be different from them, or even very different from them. Circle the number.

very similar - 1
 similar - 2
 different - 3
 very different - 4

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------|
| 1. | Kids who behave in ways that are obviously foreign. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 2. | Macanese who are proud of being Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 3. | Kids who have a conflict over which country they really belong to. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 4. | Kids who think differently from most Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 5. | People who are religious. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 6. | An average Macanese kid. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 7. | People who make it clear that they are not Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 8. | Kids who have to act differently at home from anywhere else. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 9. | Macanese who are proud of being Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 10. | Kids who go to clubs or churches which are for migrant groups. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 11. | An average Macanese kid. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 12. | People who feel good about their cultural background. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 13. | Kids whose names remind them that they are different from other Macanese kids. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 14. | Kids who don't care about the country in which their parents were born. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 15. | A person you can rely on. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 16. | People who prefer eating Macanese food. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 17. | Kids who are basically good. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 18. | People who prefer eating Macanese food. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 19. | Macanese who are proud of being Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 20. | Dishonest kids | 1 2 3 4 |
| 21. | People whose parents won't give them any independence. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 22. | People who read foreign language newspapers. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 23. | Kids who feel they look different from Macanese kids. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 24. | Kids who carry on the ways of their parents' home country. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 25. | People who stick together with those of their own nationality. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 26. | Macanese who don't get on with migrants. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 27. | Kids whose parents were born in another country and who feel themselves to be a mixture of Macanese and another culture | 1 2 3 4 |
| 28. | Kids from other countries who don't fit in well. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 29. | Kids from families where 'doing your own thing' is encouraged. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 30. | Kids who speak more than one language fluently. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 31. | People who would only marry someone from their own cultural background. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 32. | People whose parents are migrants but who think of themselves as definitely Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 33. | Kids from other countries who try to hide their background. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 34. | Migrants who don't have much to do with Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 35. | People from other countries who become very Macanese in their ways. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 36. | An average Macanese kid. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 37. | Migrants who go to language school. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 38. | People who give up for good the country they were born in. | 1 2 3 4 |

39. Kids who get on well with everybody no matter what country they or their parents come from. 1 2 3 4

II. In this part, we are interested in what you know about certain groups in Macau. Circle the NUMBER given below each statement to indicate what you think about the statement.

1. Estimate the proportion of the Macao population made up of the following groups:

Portuguese	0%	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	100%
Macanese	0%	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	100%
Chinese	0%	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	100%

2. How highly regarded are the following languages in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly

3. How highly regarded are the following language internationally?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly

4. How often are the following languages used in Macao government services?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively

5. Estimate the birth rates of the following groups in Macao:

Portuguese	decreasing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Increasing
Macanese	decreasing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Increasing
Chinese	decreasing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	increasing

6. How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Macao?

Portuguese	None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Exclusive
Macanese	None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Exclusive
Chinese	None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Exclusive

7. How much control do the following languages in the Macao mass media?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely well
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely well
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely well

8. How highly regarded are the following groups in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly

9. In all parts of Macao where the following groups live, to what extent are they in the majority or minority?

Portuguese	Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very large majority
Macanese	Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very large majority
Chinese	Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very large majority

10. How much are the following languages taught in Macao schools?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively

11. How many of the following groups immigrate into Macao each year?

Portuguese	Very many	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
Macanese	Very many	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
Chinese	Very many	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all

12. To what extent do the following marry only within their own groups?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively

13. How much political power do the following groups have in Macao?

Portuguese	Complete	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
Macanese	Complete	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
Chinese	Complete	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all

14. How well-represented are the following languages in Macao business institutions?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively

15. How many of the following groups emigrate from Macao to other countries each year/

Portuguese	Very many	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
Macanese	Very many	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
Chinese	Very many	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all

16. How proud of their cultural history and achievements are the following groups in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely

17. How frequently are the following languages used in Macao churches and places of religious worship?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively

18. How well-represented are the following groups in the cultural life of Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely

19. How strong and active do you feel the following groups are in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely

20. How wealthy do you feel the following groups are in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely

21. How strong and active do you feel the following groups will be 20 to 30 years from now?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely

22. In general, how much contact is there between people of Macanese and Chinese?

Very much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
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III. In this part, we would like to gather opinion about languages in Macau. Please put a tick in the appropriate blank.

1. What language(s) do you speak? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese _____
 Putonghua _____
 Other Chinese dialects _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others _____

2. What language(s) do you write? (you can tick more than one)

Chinese _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others _____

3. What is your language level? (please put in a number)

1. excellent
2. above average
3. average
4. below average

Chinese (written) _____
 Chinese (spoken) _____
 Portuguese (written) _____
 Portuguese (spoken) _____
 English (written) _____
 English (spoken) _____
 Others (written) _____
 Others (spoken) _____

4. Which language(s) do you think should be taught at school? (you can tick more than one)

Chinese _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others please specify _____

5. What language(s) do you use at home? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese _____
 Putonghua _____
 Other Chinese dialect(s) _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others please specify _____

6. What language(s) do you use at work? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese _____

Putonghua		_____
Portuguese		_____
English		_____
Others	please specify	_____

7. What language(s) do you use most regularly in social gatherings? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Other Chinese dialect(s)	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____

8. What language(s) are you learning, and planning to learn? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this question)

Why?

9. What medium(s) of instruction would you prefer for education in Macao? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____
Others	_____

Why? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this part)

10. What is your attitude towards the principal languages (Cantonese, Putonghua, Portuguese and English) operative in Macau today?

- 1. strongly in favour
- 2. moderately in favour
- 3. moderately opposed
- 4. strongly opposed

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____

Why? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this part)

Appendix II Pilot Test

Part I

I. In this part, different kinds of people are described. We want you to think about how similar you are to these people. You may be similar to them, or very similar to them, or you could be different from them, or even very different from them. Circle the number.

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------|
| 1. | very similar | |
| 2. | similar | |
| 3. | different | |
| 4. | very different | |
| | | |
| 1. | People who are religious. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 2. | People who behave in ways that are obviously foreign. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 3. | Macanese who are proud of their own ethnicity. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 4. | People who have a conflict over which country they really belong to. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 5. | People who think differently from most Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 6. | People who make it clear that they are not Chinese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 7. | People who have to act differently at home from anywhere else. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 8. | People who feel good about their cultural background. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 9. | People whose names remind them that they are different from other Chinese people. | 1 2 3 4 |
| | | |
| 10. | People who don't care about the country in which their parents were born. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 11. | People who prefer eating Chinese food. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 12. | People from other countries who don't fit in well. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 13. | People who read foreign language newspapers. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 14. | People who feel they look different from Chinese people. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 15. | People who carry on the ways of their parents' home country. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 16. | People who stick together with those of their own nationality. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 17. | People whose parents were born in another country and who feel themselves to be a mixture of Macanese and another culture. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 18. | People who prefer eating Macanese food. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 19. | People who speak more than one language fluently. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 20. | People who would only marry someone from their own cultural background. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 21. | People whose parents are migrants but who think of themselves as definitely Macanese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| | | |
| 22. | People from other countries who try to hide their background. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 23. | Migrants who don't have much to do with Chinese. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 24. | People who give up for good the country they were born in. | 1 2 3 4 |
| 25. | People who get on well with everybody no matter what country they or their parents come from. | 1 2 3 4 |

II. In this part, we are interested in what you know about certain groups in Macau. Circle the NUMBER given below each statement to indicate what you think about the statement.

1. How highly regarded are the following languages in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
2. How highly regarded are the following language internationally?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
3. How often are the following languages used in Macao government services?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
4. How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Macao?

Portuguese	None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Exclusive
Macanese	None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Exclusive
Chinese	None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Exclusive
5. How much control do the following languages in the Macao mass media?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely well
English	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely well
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely well
6. How highly regarded are the following groups in Macao?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely highly
7. In all parts of Macao where the following groups live, to what extent are they in the majority or minority?

Portuguese	Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very large majority
Macanese	Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very large majority
Chinese	Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very large majority

8. How much are the following languages taught in Macao schools?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| English | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
9. To what extent do the following marry only within their own groups?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| Macanese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
10. How much political power do the following groups have in Macao?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| Portuguese | Complete | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | None at all |
| Macanese | Complete | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | None at all |
| Chinese | Complete | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | None at all |
11. How well-represented are the following languages in Macao business institutions?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| English | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
12. How many of the following groups emigrate from Macao to other countries each year?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| Portuguese | Very many | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | None at all |
| Macanese | Very many | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | None at all |
| Chinese | Very many | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | None at all |
13. How proud of their cultural history and achievements are the following groups in Macao?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Macanese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
14. How frequently are the following languages used in Macao churches and places of religious worship?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| English | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | exclusively |
15. How well-represented are the following groups in the cultural life of Macao?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Macanese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
16. How strong and active do you feel the following groups are in Macao?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Macanese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
17. How wealthy do you feel the following groups are in Macao?
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| Portuguese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Macanese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |
| Chinese | Not at all | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | extremely |

18. How strong and active do you feel the following groups will be 20 to 30 years from now?

Portuguese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Macanese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
Chinese	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely

19. In general, how much contact is there between people of Macanese and Chinese?

Very much	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	None at all
-----------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

III. In this part, we would like to gather opinion about languages in Macau. Please put a tick in the appropriate blank.

1. What language(s) do you speak? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese _____
 Putonghua _____
 Other Chinese dialects _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others _____

2. What language(s) do you write? (you can tick more than one)

Chinese _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others _____

3. What is your language level? (please put in a number)

1. excellent
2. above average
3. average
4. below average

Chinese (written) _____
 Chinese (spoken) _____
 Portuguese (written) _____
 Portuguese (spoken) _____
 English (written) _____
 English (spoken) _____
 Others (written) _____
 Others (spoken) _____

4. Which language(s) do you think should be taught at school? (you can tick more than one)

Chinese _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____

Others please specify _____

5. What language(s) do you use at home? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Other Chinese dialect(s)	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____
Others please specify	_____

6. What language(s) do you use at work? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____
Others please specify	_____

7. What language(s) do you use most regularly in social gatherings? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Other Chinese dialect(s)	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____

8. What language(s) are you learning, and planning to learn? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this question)

Why?

9. What medium(s) of instruction would you prefer for education in Macao? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
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Appendix III Final Version of Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Age (please circle one)

Under20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	Over70
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Sex (please circle one)

F /M

Occupation : Government/ Non-Government

Income (please circle one)

Below 5000	5001-10000	10001-15000	15001-20000
20001-25000	25001-30000	30001 or above	

Education level (please circle one)

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	University or above
---------	-----------	----------	---------------------

My father’s ethnicity is: (please circle one)

Chinese	Portuguese	Macanese
---------	------------	----------

others (please specify) _____

My mother’s ethnicity is:(please circle one)

Chinese	Portuguese	Macanese
---------	------------	----------

others (please specify) _____

In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____

I. In this part, different kinds of people are described. We want you to think about how similar you are to these people. You may be similar to them, or very similar to them, or you could be different from them, or even very different from them. Circle the number.

- 1. very similar
- 2. similar
- 3. different
- 4. very different

1. People who are religious

1 2 3 4

2.	People who behave in ways that are obviously foreign.	1 2 3 4
3.	People who are proud of their own ethnicity	1 2 3 4
4.	People who have a conflict over which country they really belong to	1 2 3 4
5.	People who think differently from most Chinese	1 2 3 4
6.	People who make it clear that they are not Chinese	1 2 3 4
7.	People who have to act differently at home from anywhere else	1 2 3 4
8.	People who feel good about their cultural background	1 2 3 4
9.	People whose names remind them that they are different from other Chinese people.	1 2 3 4
10.	People who don't care about the country in which their parents were born	1 2 3 4
11.	People who prefer eating Chinese food	1 2 3 4
12.	People from other countries who don't fit in well.	1 2 3 4
13.	People who read foreign language newspapers.	1 2 3 4
14.	People who feel they look different from Chinese people	1 2 3 4
15.	People who carry on the ways of their parent's home country.	1 2 3 4
16.	People who stick together with those of their own nationality	1 2 3 4
17.	People who feel themselves to be a mixture of Chinese and another culture.	1 2 3 4
18.	People who prefer eating Macanese food	1 2 3 4
19.	People who speak more than one language fluently.	1 2 3 4
20.	People who would only marry someone from their own cultural background.	1 2 3 4
21.	People who think of themselves as definitely Macau citizen	1 2 3 4
22.	People who try to hide their background.	1 2 3 4
23.	People who don't have much to do with Chinese.	1 2 3 4
24.	People who give up for good the country they were born in.	1 2 3 4
25.	People who get on well with every body	1 2 3 4

II. In this part, we are interested in what you know about certain groups in Macau. Circle the NUMBER given below each statement to indicate what you think about the statement.

1. How highly regarded are the following languages in Macau?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely highly

Portuguese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely highly

English

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely highly

2. How highly regarded are the following languages internationally?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely highly

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely highly
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

English

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely highly
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

3. How often are the following languages used in Macau government services?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

English

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

4. How much control do the following groups have over economic and business matters in Macau?

Chinese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusive
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

Macanese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusive
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

5. How well-represented are the following languages in the Macau mass media?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely well
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely well
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------

English

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely well
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------------

6. How highly regarded are the following groups in Macau?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely highly
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

Macanese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely highly
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely highly
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------

7. To what extent are the following groups in the majority or minority in Macau?

Chinese

Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very large majority
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

Portuguese

Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very large majority
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

Macanese

Very small minority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very large majority
---------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---------------------

8. How much are the following languages taught in Macau schools?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

English

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

9. To what extent do the following marry only within their own groups?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Macanese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

10. How much political power do the following groups have in Macau?

Chinese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	complete
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------

Macanese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	complete
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------

Portuguese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	complete
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----------

11. How well-represented are the following languages in Macau business institutions?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

English

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

Portuguese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	exclusively
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-------------

12. How many of the following groups emigrate from Macau to other countries each year?

Chinese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very many
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

Macanese

None at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very many
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

13. How proud of their cultural history and achievements are the following groups in Macau?

Chinese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

Macanese

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	extremely
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------

14. How frequently are the following languages used in Macau churches and places of religious worship?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

English

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

Portuguese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 exclusively

15. How well-represented are the following groups in the cultural life of Macau?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

Macanese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

16. How strong and active do you feel the following groups are in Macau?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

Macanese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

17. How wealthy do you feel the following groups are in Macau?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

Macanese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

18. How strong and active do you feel the following groups will be 20 to 30 years from now?

Chinese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

Macanese

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely

19. In general, how much contact is there between the Chinese and the Macanese?

None at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

20. How much did you learn about your own culture when you went to school?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

21. How much of the following cultures did you learn when you were at school?

Chinese culture

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

Portuguese culture

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

Macanese culture

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

22. Did you feel the same as other students when you went to school?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

23. Did your teacher treat you differently from others when you went to school?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

24. Did your classmates treat you differently from others when you went to school?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

25. Did going to school make you feel you were part of your group?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

III. In this part, we would like to gather opinion about languages in Macau. Please put a tick in the appropriate blank.

1. What language(s) do you speak? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese _____
 Putonghua _____
 Other Chinese dialects _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others _____

2. What language(s) do you write? (you can tick more than one)

Chinese _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others _____

3. What is your language level? (please put in a number)

1. excellent
2. above average
3. average
4. below average

Chinese (written) _____
 Chinese (spoken) _____
 Portuguese (written) _____
 Portuguese (spoken) _____
 English (written) _____
 English (spoken) _____
 Others (written) _____
 Others (spoken) _____

4. Which language(s) do you think should be taught at school? (you can tick more than one)

Chinese _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others please specify _____

5. What language(s) do you use at home? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese _____
 Putonghua _____
 Other Chinese dialect(s) _____
 Portuguese _____
 English _____
 Others please specify _____

6. What language(s) do you use at work? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese		_____
Putonghua		_____
Portuguese		_____
English		_____
Others	please specify	_____

7. What language(s) do you use most regularly in social gatherings? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Other Chinese dialect(s)	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____

8. What language(s) are you learning, and planning to learn? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this question)

Why?

9. What medium(s) of instruction would you prefer for education in Macao? (you can tick more than one)

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____
Others	_____

Why? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this part)

10. What is your attitude towards the principal languages (Cantonese, Putonghua, Portuguese and English) operative in Macau today?

- 1. strongly in favour
- 2. moderately in favour
- 3. moderately opposed
- 4. strongly opposed

Cantonese	_____
Putonghua	_____
Portuguese	_____
English	_____

Why? (you can use Chinese, English or Portuguese to answer this part)

Appendix IV Pre-pilot Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

Age under 20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 over 70

Sex M F

Income(in Patacas)

below 5000	5001-10000	10001- 15000	15001-20000	20001-25000
	25001-30000	above 30000		

Education primary secondary tertiary university or above

Occupation _____

Identity

1. How do you describe the different groups of people in Macau to a foreigner who comes here for the first time?
2. Which group do you think you belong to in terms of ethnic group?
3. Are there any subdivisions within one group do you think?
4. How much control do the different group have over political matters?
5. How much control do the different groups have over economic matters?
6. What are the differences before and after the handover?
7. How do you define Macanese?

8. Which feature/features should a Macanese possess?
9. What are the differences among different generations?

Language

1. How many languages do you know?
2. What is your mother tongue?
3. Which language do you use most frequently at home, parents, siblings, aunts & uncles, grandparents, religious worship, social gatherings, friends, and at work?
4. How well do you manage these languages?
5. Which language (s) should be used in the government and mass media? Why?
6. Of all the languages, is there a language that you think you must know?
 - personal
 - in Macau
 - in the world
7. What language(s) do you think your children should learn? Why?

Language Policy

1. What languages did you learn when you were at school?
2. Which one do you think should be the medium of instruction?
3. What languages should be taught at school? Why?

4. Which language did you think was the most important at school?
5. Which language do you think is the most important now? Why?

Education Policy

1. What kind of school did you go to?
2. Did going to that kind of school make you feel more Macanese? Why/Why not?
3. Did you feel the same as the other students?
4. What are the difference between your school and the other schools?
5. How did you see your classmates?
6. What is Macanese culture?
7. How much did you learn about your own culture when you went to school?
8. What did your school do in maintaining your culture?
9. What does the government need to do to maintain your culture?

Appendix V Pilot Test Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

Age under 20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70 over 70

Sex M F

Income
 below 5000 5001-10000 10001- 15000 15001-20000 20001-25000
 25001-30000 above 30000

Education primary secondary tertiary university or above

Occupation _____

Identity

1. How do you describe the different groups of people in Macau to a foreigner who comes here for the first time?
2. Which group do you think you belong to in terms of ethnic group?
3. Are there any subdivisions within one group do you think?
4. How much control do the different group have over political matters?
5. How much control do the different groups have over economic matters?
6. What are the differences before and after the handover?
7. How do you define Macanese?

8. Which feature/features should a Macanese possess?
9. What are the differences among different generations?

Language

1. How many languages do you know?
2. What is your mother tongue?
3. Which language do you use most frequently at home, parents, siblings, aunts & uncles, grandparents, religious worship, social gatherings, friends, and at work?
4. How well do you manage these languages?
5. Which language (s) should be used in the government and mass media? Why?
6. Of all the languages , is there a language that you think you must know?
 - personal
 - in Macau
 - in the world
7. What language(s) do you think your children should learn? Why?

Language Policy

1. What languages did you learn when you were at school?
2. Which one do you think should be the medium of instruction?
3. What languages should be taught at school? Why?

4. Which language did you think was the most important at school?
5. Which language do you think is the most important now? Why?

Education Policy

1. What kind of school did you go to?
2. Did going to that kind of school make you feel more Macanese? Why/Why not?
3. Did you feel the same as the other students?
4. What are the difference between your school and the other schools?
5. How did you see your classmates?
6. What is Macanese culture?
7. How much did you learn about your own culture when you went to school?
8. What did your school do in maintaining your culture?
9. What does the government need to do to maintain your culture?

Is there anything that I didn't ask about that you think I should know?

Appendix VI Final Version of Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

Age	under 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	over70
Sex	M	F					
Income	below 5000	5001-10000	10001- 15000	15001-20000	20001-25000		
	25001-30000	above 30000					
Education	primary	secondary		tertiary	university	or above	
Occupation	_____						

Identity

1. How do you describe the different groups of people in Macau to a foreigner who comes here for the first time?
2. Which group do you think you belong to in terms of ethnic group?
3. Are there any subdivisions within one group do you think?
4. How much control do the different group have over political matters?
5. How much control do the different groups have over economic matters?
6. What are the differences before and after the handover?
7. How do you define Macanese?
8. Which feature/features should a Macanese possess?
9. What are the differences among different generations?

Language

1. How many languages do you know?
2. What is your mother tongue?
3. Which language do you use most frequently?
4. -at home, parents, siblings, aunts & uncles, grandparents
5. -religious worship
6. -social gatherings, friends
7. -work
8. How well do you manage these languages?
9. Which language (s) should be used in the government and mass media? Why?
10. Of all the languages , is there a language that you think you must know?
 - personal
 - in Macau
 - in the world
11. What language(s) do you think your children should learn? Why?

Language Policy

1. What languages did you learn when you were at school?
2. Which one do you think should be the medium of instruction?
3. What languages should be taught at school? Why?

4. Which language did you think was the most important at school?
5. Which language do you think is the most important now? Why?

Education Policy

1. What kind of school did you go to?
2. Did going to that kind of school make you feel more Macanese? Why/Why not?
3. Did you feel the same as the other students?
4. What are the difference between your school and the other schools?
5. How did you see your classmates?
6. What is Macanese culture?
7. How much did you learn about your own culture when you went to school?
8. What did your school do in maintaining your culture?
9. What does the government need to do to maintain your culture?

Conclude

Is there anything that I didn't ask about that you think I should know?

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